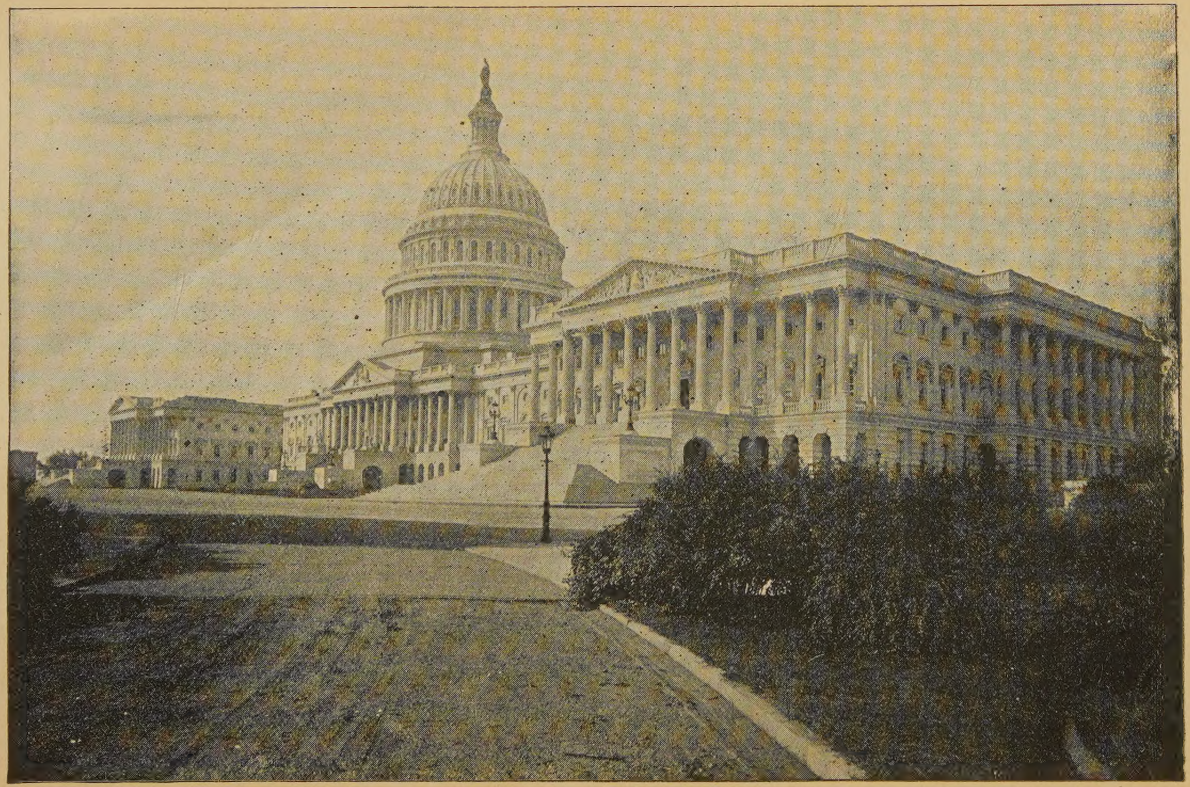


UNITED STATES CAPITOL, WASHINGTON.

Great Leaders

...and...

National Issues

...OF...

1896

Containing the

....LIVES OF THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC....
CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND
VICE-PRESIDENT,

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE LEADING MEN OF ALL PARTIES,

The Story of

FAMOUS CAMPAIGNS OF THE PAST,

HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES,

LIVES OF OUR FORMER PRESIDENTS,

Together with a full Presentation of

THE LIVE QUESTIONS OF THE DAY,

... Including ...

THE TARIFF, GOLD AND SILVER, CUBA, ARMENIA, VENEZUELA,
MONROE DOCTRINE, ETC.

By the Following Noted Authors:

EDWARD S. ELLIS, A. M., THOMAS B. REED, WILLIAM L. WILSON,
JOHN SHERMAN, J. K. UPTON, AND OTHERS.

OVER 100 PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

MONARCH PUBLISHING CO.,
PHILADELPHIA, PA., AND CHICAGO, ILL.

COPYRIGHT 1896
BY
WM. ELLIS SCULL.

PREFACE.

THIS has been an eventful year both at home and abroad. A Presidential year is always an interesting one, but this time it is *unusually* so because the issues are more clearly defined and are of more personal importance and interest to every citizen. Every individual, however humble, will be affected either for good or bad by the policy of the Government in regard to Silver and the Tariff. Then the whole world has been stirred by the cruel massacre of the Armenians and the struggle of the Cubans for liberty. Only recently this whole country and Europe were greatly excited by a threatened war with England in reference to Venezuela.

A book which covers all these subjects and which at the same time furnishes biographies of the candidates for President and Vice-President of both the Republican and Democratic parties, and also biographies of the great political leaders all over the country, cannot fail to be *unusually* interesting to all the citizens of this country.

In the preparation of the book we have had the assistance of several of the great leaders of the different political parties. We believe the careful reader will recognize the earnest effort made to be fair to all parties, and to furnish reliable information.

CONTENTS.

I.

FAMOUS PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS OF THE PAST.

The Origin of the Caucus.—The Election of 1792.—The First Stormy Election.—The Constitution Amended.—The Country Divided in Parties.—Improvement of the Method of Nominating Presidential Candidates.—The First Presidential Convention.—Convention in Baltimore in 1832.—Exciting Scenes.—The Presidential Campaign of 1820.—"Old Hickory."—Andrew Jackson's Popularity.—Jackson Nominated.—"Old Hickory" Defeated.—Jackson's Triumph.—The "Log-cabin and Hard-cider" Campaign of 1840.—"Tippecanoe and Tyler Too."—Peculiar Feature of the Harrison Campaign.—"Rough and Ready."—Democratic Convention in Baltimore, 1852.—"Old Fuss and Feathers."—A Tragic Period.—The Democratic Party Divided.—Stephen A. Douglas.—John C. Breckinridge.—The Constitutional Unionists.—Woful Misunderstandings.—The Result of the Election of 1860.—Ulysses S. Grant and Horatio Seymour.—Unique Campaign of 1872.—The Most Critical Period in the History of Our Country.—Charge of Fraud.—More Trouble.—A Way Out of the Danger.—The Republican National Convention of 1880 in Chicago.—The Most Peculiar Political Campaign of Later Years.—"Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" 17

II.

QUESTIONS FOR THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION TO CONSIDER.

The Hawaiian Tangle.—The Venezuela Dispute.—The "Queen of the Antilles."—The Armenian Massacres.—Our Quarrel with Chili.—The Necessity of The "Sick Man."—The Tariff Question.—The

"American System."—The "Tariff of Abominations."—Later Tariffs.—The Money Problem.—A Substitute Must Be Provided.—"Bimetallism."—National Bankruptcy and Divorce Laws.—The Temperance Problem.—"Paternalism in Government"..... 54

III.

A PROTECTIVE TARIFF,

By Hon. Thomas B. Reed, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The History of Protection.—"The Whole Race Wiser than any Man."—The Truth the Simplest when Understood.—Large Facts.—Trying Ordeals.—The Future Not Exhausted.—Other Testimony.—"Phenomenal Prosperity."—"Marvelously Illimitable."—"The Richest Country in the World."—"A Paradise for Laboring Men."—Solid Arguments.—What Can the Example of England Teach?—England's Development.—Raw Materials Scanty in England.—The Workings of the Corn Law.—"As Wages Fall, Profits Rise."—England Credited for Great Sense.—"Unusual Temerity."—A Striking Result.—The Vital Question.—Influence of Wages.—Where will the Increase Come From?—The Measure of Wages.—"Supply and Demand."—Producers and Consumers.—Cold Mathematics.—More Figures.—Who have the Markets of the World?—"Survival of the Superior."—Broader Illustrations.—The Chinaman Must Keep Out.—"Labor is on the Free List."—Constitutionality of Tariff Taxation.—Who Pays the Tax?—A Fighting Chance.—Statistics in Massachusetts.—Diversification of Industries.—Invention Born of Necessity.—Another Fact.—Large Consumption at the Basis.—The Hope of Agriculturists.—Cheaper Labor.—What has made England Rich?..... 72

IV.

A TARIFF FOR REVENUE,

By Hon. Wm. L. Wilson, Author of the "Wilson Bill."

Human Progress Cannot be Impeded.—What the Laws have Done.—A Lesson in the Last Census.—The Goal of Perfect Freedom.—Two

Arguments.—Increasing Revenues.—The Income Tax is no Sectional Legislation.—The Meaning of Tariff Reform.—A Battle for Human Freedom..... 127

V.

GOLD AND SILVER, AND THE PROBLEM OF OUR NATIONAL CURRENCY,

By Hon. J. K. Upton, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under Three Administrations.

Money of no Recent Origin.—Ancient Use of Silver as Money.—Other Commodities Used as Money.—Representative Money.—The Functions of Money.—The Legal-Tender Function.—Combination of Two Standards.—Debasing the Money.—The Spanish Pillar Silver Dollar.—Diverse Valuation of the Shilling.—Paper Money.—Bimetallism.—The Experiment of 1762.—"Not Worth a Continental."—The Bank of North America.—Initiatory Steps for a Mint—Bimetallism.—The New Silver Dollar.—Spanish Coins no Longer Legal Tender.—The Trade Dollar.—The "Bland Bill."—Paper Money.—Wild-cat Currency.—The Golden Age of the West.—The Famous Specie Order.—The "Greenbacks."—Another Form of Paper Issue.—Outstanding Paper Issues in 1865.—The Law of 1875.—Issue of Bonds.—An End of Enterprise and Prosperity.—A Great Success... 141

VI.

HON. JOHN SHERMAN ON THE CURRENCY OF THE FUTURE.

Checks, Clearing Houses and Paper Notes.—A Safe But Expensive Policy.—"One-half Gold and One-half Silver."..... 186

VII.

LIVE QUESTIONS OF TO-DAY.

The Hawaiian Imbroglio.—King David Kalakaua.—Queen Liliuokalani.—Revolution.—Reversal of Policy.—The Transvaal Question.—Dr. Jameson.—Discovery of Gold in the Transvaal.—Dr. Jameson's

Raid.—The Result of Jameson's Raid.—Enthusiasm in England.—The Monroe Doctrine—The Dispute over the Venezuelan Boundary.—South American Republics Free.—"The Balance of Power."—A French Empire in Mexico.—The Venezuelan Question.—Arbitration.—A Commission Appointed.—"Jingoism" and Sober Second Thought.—The Cuban Revolt.—Pathetic and Dramatic Incidents.—The Provinces of Cuba.—The Insurrection of 1895.—Marshal Martinez de Campos.—Cubans Appoint a Permanent Government.—The Pronounced Friendship of Congress for Cuba.—Recognition of Belligerency.—What Have we Done for the Cubans?—Two-thirds of the Population of European Origin.—We Have no Debt of Gratitude to Spain 193

VIII.

POLITICAL GIANTS OF THE PRESENT DAY.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.—Harrison's Marriage.—Sterling Integrity and Marked Ability.—Harrison Becomes a Soldier.—Harrison's Record in the Field.—Harrison Nominated and Elected President..... 233

GROVER CLEVELAND.—Cleveland Goes West.—Cleveland's Early Public Career.—Cleveland as Governor.—President Cleveland's First Administration.—Cleveland Re-elected.—"Struck Fire." 242

JOHN SHERMAN.—Sherman's Younger Years.—Sherman a Lawyer.—"Another Dead Cock in the Pit."—An Ardent Supporter of Lincoln.—In the Senate.—Sherman's Administration of the Treasury Department 253

THOMAS BRACKETT REED.—Reed as a Teacher.—A Brilliant Lawyer.—Nominated for Congress.—Reed in the Speaker's Chair.—"Present, but not Voting."—Home Life..... 262

CHARLES FREDERICK CRISP.—A Brave Soldier.—His Public Career.—In the Congress.—At Home..... 271

JOHN GRIFFIN CARLISLE.—Earlier Years.—Public Career.—Personal Qualities.—His Most Remarkable Characteristic.—Home Life..... 275

LEVI PARSONS MORTON.—Earlier Years.—In Boston.—A Memorable Transaction.—In the Congress.—Vice-President of the United States..... 282

WILLIAM B. ALLISON.—First Entrance into Politics.—In the Congress.—Soldier-Voting.—Declining the Portfolio of the Treasury... 288

DAVID BENNETT HILL.—"I Don't Want to be an Angel."—Launched upon the Sea of Politics.—The Republican "Landslide" of 1894..... 295

HENRY MOORE TELLER.—Excellent Success.—A Power in Politics.—A Pronounced "Silver Man."..... 301

WILLIAM LYNE WILSON.—Stirring Times.—In the Congress.—The "Wilson Bill."—Personal Qualities..... 304

WILLIAM McKINLEY.—"You'll Do."—A Fire-tried Veteran at Twenty-two.—The "McKinley Bill."—Exalted Sense of Honor..... 308

CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW.—Early Career.—A Supporter of Abraham Lincoln.—Attorney of the New York and Harlem Railroad Company.—President of the New York Central.—Wit, Logic and Eloquence..... 316

MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY.—Quay's Tariff Record.—His Life Story.—Personal Characteristics..... 324

CUSHMAN K. DAVIS.—Devotion to the People.—Work for New States.—His Political Courage.—His Rare Qualities..... 327

STEPHEN B. ELKINS.—Romantic Career.—A Poor Boy without Influential Friends.—Successes in Law, Business and Politics.—His Sympathy with Wage-earners.—Selling of Government Bonds.—Restoring Discriminating Duties..... 336

SHELBY M. CULLOM.—Environment a Leading Factor.—Cullom's Great Public Career.—Elected to the Congress.—In the Governor's Chair.—Unswerving Rectitude.—Courage and Strength as a Public Servant.—Early Life and Education.—Mental Characteristics.—Domestic Life..... 346

CHARLES H. PARKHURST.—The Formative Period of His Life.—Municipal Reform.—"I Know."—Triumph..... 366

RICHARD P. BLAND.—Chairman of the Coinage Committee.—The "Bland Dollar."—The Growth of Silver Mining in the West..... 372

WILLIAM R. MORRISON.—In the House of State Representatives.—Soldier.—In the Congress.—The "Morrison Bill."—The "Reagan Bill."—The Proper "Timber"..... 375

HORACE BOIES.—Prominent Lawyer.—Popularity with Democrats.—Governor.—Growing Popularity.—One of the "Idols of his Party".. 381

IX.

OUR PRESIDENTS.

The Twenty-three Statesmen who have occupied the Presidential Chair.—

Brief Sketches of their Lives.—The Memorable Events of their Administrations.—The Important Facts of our Political, Commercial, and Social History since the Adoption of the Constitution..... 385

X.

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION AND PLATFORM.

"Bosses" Set Aside.—Many Brilliant Men.—McKinley Buttons Everywhere.—The Currency Question.—First Day of the Convention.—Adoption of the Gold Plank.—Speech of Chairman Thurston.—Split Between the Gold and Silver Men.—Reading of the Platform.—The Minority Report.—Bolt of the Silver Men.—A Montana Delegate Who Did Not Bolt.—A Voice from Utah.—Nomination of Senator W. B. Allison.—Nomination of Thomas B. Reed of Maine.—Speech of Senator Lodge.—Reed's Record.—Nomination of Gov. Levi P. Morton of New York.—Nomination of William McKinley of Ohio.—The Convention Goes Wild.—Senator Thurston's Eloquent Speech.—The Year of the People.—The Flag Will Never Be Hauled Down.—The Balloting.—McKinley Nominated.—Wild Enthusiasm.—The Vote by States.—The Nomination Made Unanimous.—The Nominations for Vice-President.—Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey Nominated.—At McKinley's Home.—Reception of the News..... 438

XI.

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

Allegiance to Protection Renewed.—Reciprocity Demanded.—Merchant Marine.—The Currency Plank.—Justice to Veterans.—Foreign Relations.—Suffering Cuba.—The Navy.—Foreign Immigration.—Civil Service.—Free Ballot.—Lynching.—National Arbitration.—Homesteads.—Territories.—Temperance and Rights of Women..... 501

XII.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF WILLIAM McKINLEY,

By HON. JOHN SHERMAN.

Early Life.—War Services.—Elected to Congress.—His Tariff Measure.—Mastered the Whole Subject.—The Campaign of 1892.—Powers of Leadership.—His Work as Governor.—Knowledge on Many Topics.—For Honest Money..... 513

XIII.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF GARRET AUGUSTUS HOBART.

Early Life.—His Personal Magnetism.—His Mission as a Peacemaker.—Entrance Into Politics.—Prominent in the Senate.—Recognized as a Leader.—Mentioned for Governor.—Active in Business Life.—Tremendous Business Capacity.—Never a "Boss."—Domestic Life.. 528

XIV.

PROHIBITION CONVENTION AND PLATFORM.

"Narrow Gauge" and "Broad Gauge" Prohibition.—Vote on the Money Question.—Prohibition, and it Alone.—The Platform.—Joshua Levering, of Maryland, Nominated for President, and Hale Johnson, of Illinois, for Vice-President..... 543

XV.

LIFE OF JOSHUA LEVERING.

A Prominent Business Man.—A Prominent Baptist.—Originally an Independent Democrat.—Voted for St. John in 1884.—Candidate for Governor of Maryland..... 553

XVI.

SILVER MUST BE RESTORED.

BY HORACE BOIES.

No Room in this Country for Two Gold Standard Parties.—Speculators Raid the Treasury.—The Dollar of Our Fathers.—Which is the Dollar We Want?..... 555

XVII.

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

Waste of Time and Energy.—Everybody "Hustling."—Expected to See the "Fur Fly."—Senator Daniel, Temporary Chairman.—Senator Daniel's Speech.—Wednesday's Proceedings.—The Silver Men in Complete Control.—The "Dollar of Our Daddies" Would Be Restored.—No Compromise of Any Kind.—Report from the Committee on

Credentials.—The Minority Amendment Defeated.—Thursday's Proceedings.—The Minority Report.—Amendments.—"You Shall Not Crucify Mankind Upon a Cross of Gold."—Give us "Silver Dick."—Horace Boies of Iowa Nominated.—Friday's Proceedings.—Robert E. Pattison of Pennsylvania placed in Nomination.—Roll-call of the States.—Result of First Ballot.—The Second Ballot.—The Boom for Bryan Swept Resistlessly Forward.—Bryan Greeted as the New Saviour of the Democratic Party.—The Evening Session.—The Last Day of the Convention.—A Stampede to Sewall.—The Close of the Convention 558

XVIII.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

The Money Question.—The Demonetization of Silver.—Opposed to the Gold Standard.—Free and Unlimited Coinage.—Opposed to the Issue of Bonds.—The Issue of Paper Money.—The Tariff.—The Income Tax.—Foreign Pauper Labor.—Reduction in the Number of Offices.—Contempts in Federal Courts.—The Pacific Railroad Funding Bill.—The Pensioners.—The Monroe Doctrine.—Sympathy for the Cubans.—Opposed to a Third Term 586

XIX.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

Early Life.—His First Political Effort.—Against the Repeal of the Silver Purchase Act.—His Personality.—Bryan as an Orator.—Extract from his Speeches..... 596

XX.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF ARTHUR SEWALL.

A Splendid Example of Physical Manhood.—A Ship-Building Family.—His Son a Republican.—How it Feels to be a Nominee.—Thinks He will Carry Maine..... 606

XXI.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

Important Convention.—Middle-of-the-Road Men.—Temporary Chairman Butler.—Committee on Credentials Named.—The Test of Strength Comes on the Second Day.—Coats and Vests Laid Aside.—Senator Allen Speaks.—The Convention Settles Down to Business on the Third Day.—Reversal of the Order of Nominations.—The Way to a Haven of Peace.—Minority Report Adopted.—The Platform.—Vice-President Nominated.—Would All Like to be Bankers.—A Protest.—Closing Day.—Bryan Nominated 613

XXII.

THE PLATFORM OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

Declaration of Principles.—Sale of Bonds—A Graduated Income Tax.—Transportation.—The Pacific Railroads.—Land.—Direct Legislation.—General Propositions 628

XXIII.

THOMAS EDWARD WATSON.

Entered the Political Arena.—A Campaign of Exceeding Bitterness.—"Dat Man is de Nigger's Saviour."—A Last Bold Stroke.—His Personality 632

XXIV.

THE SPEECH THAT MADE BRYAN.

Crown of Thorns, Cross of Gold.—An Historic Achievement in American Politics as Well as a Literary Curiosity for Future Generations.—The Wonderful Peroration 637

LIST OF HALF-TONE ILLUSTRATIONS.

United States Capitol, Washington, D. C., *Frontispiece.*	*Page*
John Adams	20
Andrew Jackson	29
Abraham Lincoln	39
The Electoral Commission	49
Armenian Massacres	60
Venezuelan Gold Fields	69
Thomas B. Reed	79
James G. Blaine	89
Thomas Jefferson	100
Henry Clay	109
John Quincy Adams	119
William L. Wilson	129
Samuel Tilden	140
Daniel Webster	149
Ulysses S. Grant	159
Richard P. Bland	169
John G. Carlisle	180
William R. Morrison	189
President Paul Krüger	199
Lord Salisbury	195
The Venezuelan Commission	209
Joseph Chamberlain	215
Maximo Gomez	220
Antonio Masseo	220
Cuban Patriots	229
Benjamin Harrison	239
Grover Cleveland	249
John Sherman	259
Charles F. Crisp	270
Levi P. Morton	279
William B. Allison	290

Henry M. Teller 299
Matthew S. Quay 310
Chauncey M. Depew 319
Cushman A. Davis 330
William F. Vilas 330
Stephen B. Elkins 339
Arthur Gorman 339
Shelby S. Cullom 350
Charles Manderson 350
W. A. Peffer 359
Charles H. Parkhurst 370
Horace Boies 379
George Washington 390
Campaign Speechmaking 399
James A. Garfield 410
Daniel W. Vorhees 419
Benjamin Tillman 430
Roger Q. Mills 430
Mark A. Hanna 439
Joseph B. Foraker 450
Frederick F. Dubois 459
Robert T. Lincoln 459
Warner Miller 470
Thomas G. Platt 470
Henry Cabot Lodge 479
Donald Cameron 479
Susan B. Anthony 490
William McKinley 499
James E. Campbell 510
Mrs. William McKinley 519
Garret A. Hobart 530
W. O. Bradley 539
Redfield Proctor 539
Robert E. Pattison 550
Joshua Levering 553
William E. Russell 559
William C. Whitney 559
John W. Daniel 570
David B. Hill 579
William J. Bryan 590
Arthur Sewall 599
Edward Watson 609

OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Page
The Speedwell Iron Works, Morristown, N. J.	71
Silk Winding	126
The Cradle—Gold Mining	156
The United States Mint, New Orleans	163
A Very Old Woolen Mill in New Hampshire, and a Mill of the Second Period Attached There to	175
Gold Mining in California—The Sluice	183
Virginia Currency	185
A New England Weaver Winding the Spools	192
"Chicago," U. S. N., One of the New "White Squadron" Warships	205
Pennsylvania Avenue, Looking Toward the Capitol, Washington	232
A Skirmisher	241
Senate Chamber	245
The Liberty Bell, as Exhibited at the New Orleans Exposition	252
House of Representatives	255
Indian Village Enclosed with Palisades	268
Old Gate at St. Augustine, Florida	274
Indian Agency	294
Indian Mother and Infant	307
The Great Dome and Telescope of Lick Observatory, California	315
The Broyling of their Fish over the Flame of Fier	323
In the Wild West	335
An Indian Warrior	365
Old Dutch Church, New Utrecht, Long Island	374
The White House, at Washington, D. C.	393
Shop in Which the First Morse Instrument was Constructed for Exhibition before the Senate	404
Lincoln's Boyhood Home in Kentucky	414
Home of Lincoln at Gentryville, Indiana	415
Garfield On the Tow-path	425
The Home of Garfield's Childhood	427
The Falls of St. Anthony, 1885	435
Tablet in the Waiting-Room of the Railway Station where Garfield was Shot	437

Famous Presidential Campaigns of the Past.

The Origin of the "Caucus."

THE presidential nominating convention is a modern institution. In the early days of the Republic a very different method was pursued in order to place the candidates for the highest office in the land before the people.

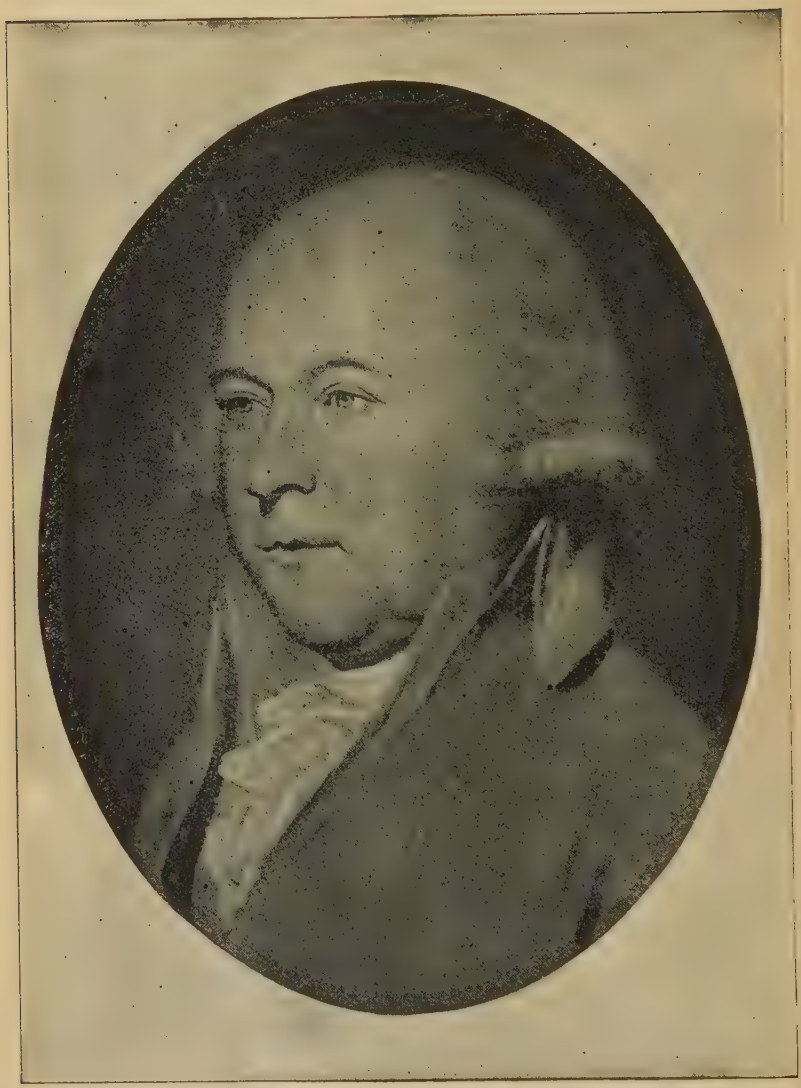
In the first place, as to the origin of the "caucus." In the early part of the eighteenth century a number of caulkers connected with the shipping business in the North End of Boston held a meeting for consultation. That meeting was the germ of the political caucuses which have formed so prominent a feature of our government ever since its organization.

The Constitution of our country was framed and signed in the month of September, 1787, by the convention sitting in Philadelphia, and then sent to the various Legislatures for their action. It could not become binding until ratified by nine States. On the 2d of July, 1788, Congress was notified that the necessary nine States had approved, and on the 13th of the following September a day was appointed for the choice of electors for President. The day selected was the first Wednesday of January, 1789. The date

for the beginning of proceedings under the new Constitution was postponed to the first Wednesday in March, which happened to fall on the 4th. In that way the 4th of March became fixed as the date of the inauguration of each President, except when the date is on Sunday, when it becomes the 5th.

Congress met at that time in the city of New York. It was not until the 1st of April that a quorum for business appeared in the House of Representatives, and the Senate was organized on the 6th of that month. The electors who were to choose the President were selected by the various State Legislatures, each elector being entitled to cast two votes. The rule was that the candidate receiving the highest number became President, while the next highest vote elected the Vice-President. The objection to this method was that the two might belong to different political parties, which very condition of things came about at the election of the second President, when John Adams was chosen to the highest office and Thomas Jefferson to the second. The former was a Federalist, while Jefferson was a Republican, or, as he would have been called later, a Democrat. Had Adams died while in office, the policy of his administration would have been changed.

There could be no doubt as to the first choice. While WASHINGTON lived and was willing thus to serve his country, what other name could be considered? So, when the electoral vote was counted on the 6th of April, 1789, every vote of the ten States which took part in the election was cast for him. He re-



JOHN ADAMS.

ceived 69 (all); John Adams, 34; John Jay, 9; R. H. Harrison, 6; John Rutledge, 6; John Hancock, 4; George Clinton, 3; Samuel Huntingdon, 2; John Milton, 2; James Armstrong, Benjamin Lincoln, and Edward Telfair 1 each.

The Election of 1792.

At the next election, in 1792, the result was: Washington, 132 (all) votes; John Adams, 77; George Clinton, 50; Thomas Jefferson, 4; Aaron Burr, 1; vacancies, 3. It would have been the same at the third election had the illustrious Father of his Country consented to be a candidate; but he was growing feeble, and had already sacrificed so much for his country, that his yearning for the quiet, restful life at Mount Vernon could not be denied him. So he retired, and, less than three years later, passed from earth.

The First Stormy Election.

What may be looked upon as the first stormy election of a President took place in 1800. When the electoral votes came to be counted, they were found to be distributed as follows: Thomas Jefferson, 73; Aaron Burr, 73; John Adams, 65; Charles C. Pinckney, 64; John Jay, 1. Jefferson and Burr being tied, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, where the contest became a memorable one. The House met on the 11th of February, 1801, to decide the question. On the first ballot, Jefferson had eight States and Burr six, while Maryland and Vermont were equally divided. Here was another tie.

Meanwhile, one of the most terrific snow-storms ever known swept over Washington. Mr. Nicholson of Maryland was seriously ill in bed, and yet, if he did not vote, his State would be given to Burr, who would be elected President. Nicholson showed that he had the "courage of his convictions" by allowing himself to be bundled up and carried through the blizzard to one of the committee rooms, where his wife stayed by his side day and night. On each ballot the box was brought to his bedside, and he did not miss one. The House remained in continuous session until thirty-five ballots had been cast without any change.

It was clear by that time that Burr could not be elected, for the columns of Jefferson were as immovable as a stone wall. The break, when it came, must be in the ranks of Burr. On the thirty-sixth ballot, the Federalists of Maryland, Delaware and South Carolina voted blank, and the Federalist of Vermont stayed away. This gave the friends of Jefferson their opportunity and, fortunately for the country, Thomas Jefferson was elected instead of the miscreant Burr.

The Constitution Amended.

As a result of this noted contest, the Constitution was so amended that each elector voted for a President and a Vice-President, instead of for two candidates for President. It was a needed improvement, since it insured that both should belong to the same political party.

During the first term of Washington, the country was divided into two powerful political parties. Men

who, like Washington, Hamilton, Adams and others, believed in a strong central government, with only such political power as was absolutely necessary distributed among the various States, were Federalists. Those who insisted upon the greatest possible power for the States, yielding nothing to Congress beyond what was distinctly specified in the Constitution, were Republicans, of whom Thomas Jefferson was the foremost leader. Other points of difference developed as the years passed, but the main distinction was as given. After the election of John Adams, the Federalist party gradually dwindled, and in the war of 1812 its unpatriotic course fatally weakened the organization.

The Country Divided in Parties.

The Republican party took the name of Democratic-Republican, which is its official title to-day. During Monroe's administration, when almost the last vestige of the Federalists vanished, their opponents gradually acquired the name of Democrats, by which they are now known. After a time, the Federalists were succeeded by the Whigs, who held well together until the quarrel over the admission of Kansas and the question of slavery split the party into fragments. From these, including Know Nothings, Abolitionists, Free Soilers and Northern Democrats, was builded, in 1856, the present Republican party, whose foundation stone was opposition to the extension of slavery. Many minor parties have sprung into ephemeral life from time to time, but the Democrats and Republicans will undoubtedly be the two

great political organizations for many years to come, as they have been for so many years past.

Improvement of the Method of Nominating Presidential Candidates.

It will be noted that the old-fashioned method of nominating presidential candidates was clumsy and frequently unfair. Candidates sometimes announced themselves for offices within the gift of the people, but if that practice had continued to modern times, the number of candidates thus appealing for the suffrages of their fellow-citizens might have threatened to equal the number of voters themselves. The more common plan was for the party leaders to hold private or informal caucuses. The next method was for the legislative caucus to name the man. The unfairness of this system was that it shut out from representation those whose districts had none of the opposite political party in the legislature. To adjust the matter, the caucus rule was so modified as to admit delegates specially sent up from the districts that were not represented in the Legislature. This, it will be seen, was an important step in the direction of the present system, which makes a nominating convention to consist of delegates from every part of a State, chosen for the sole purpose of making nominations.

The perfected method appeared in New Jersey as early as 1812; in Pennsylvania in 1817, and in New York in 1825. There was no clearly defined plan followed in making the presidential nominations for 1824, and four years later the legislative caucus system was almost universally followed. After that, the

system which had been applied in various States was applied to national matters.

The First Presidential Convention.

In the year 1826, William Morgan, a worthless character, living in Batavia, New York, attempted to expose the secrets of the order of Free Masons, of which he had become a member. While he was engaged in printing his book, he disappeared and was never afterward seen. The Masons were accused of making way with him, and a wave of opposition swept over the country which closed many lodges and seemed for a time to threaten the extinction of the order. An anti-Masonic party was formed and became strong enough to carry the election in several States. Not only that, but in September, 1831, the anti-Masons held a National nominating convention in Baltimore and put forward William Wirt, former Attorney-General of the United States, as their nominee for the Presidency, with Amos Ellmaker, candidate for the Vice-Presidency. The ticket received seven electoral votes. The noteworthy fact about this almost forgotten matter is that the convention was the first presidential one held in this country.

Convention in Baltimore in 1832.

The system was now fairly launched, for in December of the same year the National Republicans met in convention in Baltimore and nominated Henry Clay, and in May, 1832, Martin Van Buren was nominated by a Democratic convention. He was re-

nominated at the same place and in the same manner in 1835, but the Whigs did not imitate their opponents. In 1840, however, the system was adopted by both parties, and has been followed ever since.

Our whole country seethes with excitement from the hour when the first candidate is hinted at until his nomination is made, followed by his election or defeat a few months later. Some persons see a grave peril in this periodic convulsion, which shakes the United States like an earthquake, but it seems after all to be a sort of political thunder-storm which purifies the air and clarifies the ideas that otherwise would become sodden or morbid. It is essentially American, and our people's universal love of fair play leads them to accept the verdict at the polls with philosophy and good nature.

Exciting Scenes.

And yet there have been many exciting scenes at the nominating conventions of the past, as there doubtless will be in many that are yet to come. Coming down to later times, how often has it proved that the most astute politicians were all at sea in their calculations. The proverbial "dark horse" has become a potent factor whom it is not safe to forget in making up political probabilities.

The Presidential Campaign of 1820.

Probably the most tranquil presidential campaign of the nineteenth century was that of 1820, when James Monroe was elected for the second time. He

was virtually the only candidate before the country for the exalted office. When the electoral college met, the astounding fact was revealed that he had every vote—the first time such a thing had occurred since Washington's election.

But there was one elector who had the courage to do that which was never done before and has never been done since: he voted contrary to his instructions and in opposition to the ticket on which he was elected. Blumer, of New Hampshire, explained that, as he viewed it, no President had the right to share the honor of a unanimous election with Washington, and, though an ardent friend of Monroe, he deliberately cast his one vote for Adams, in order to preserve Washington's honor distinct. His motive was appreciated, and Blumer was applauded for the act, Monroe himself being pleased with it.

"Old Hickory."

It is hardly necessary to repeat that this incident has not been duplicated since that day. Andrew Jackson, "Old Hickory," was probably the most popular man in the country when the time came for naming the successor of Monroe. It may sound strange, but it is a fact that when the project of running him for the Presidency was first mentioned to Jackson, he was displeased. It had never entered his head to covet that exalted office.

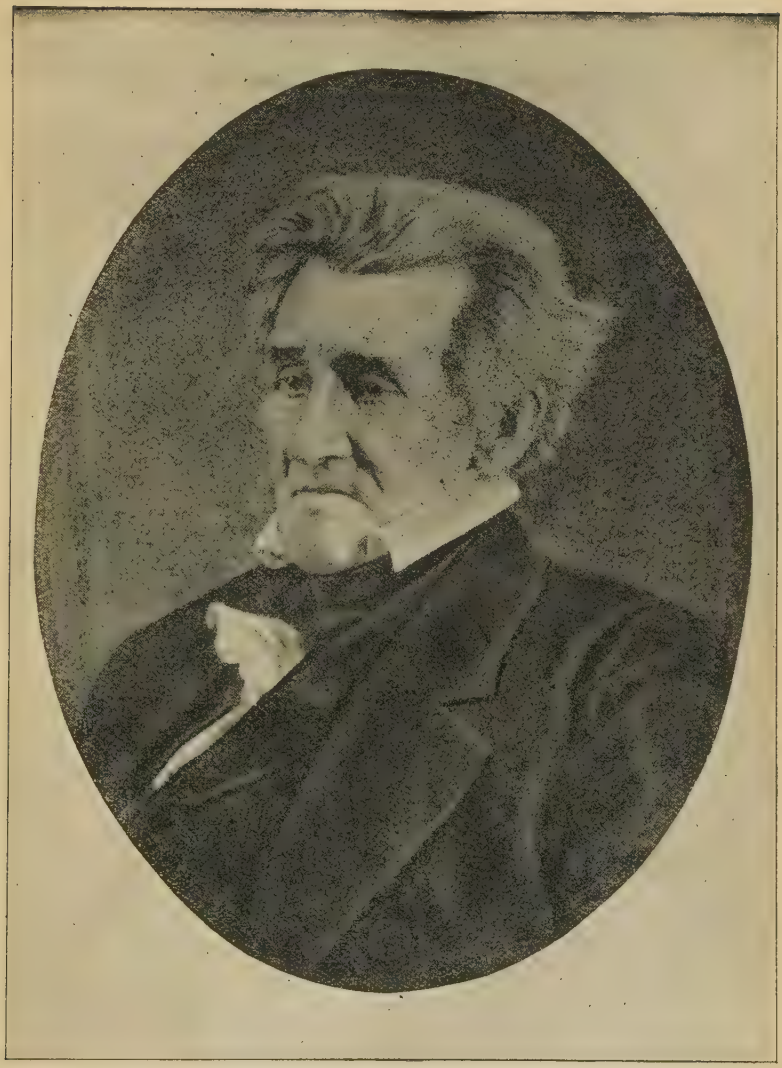
"Don't think of it," he said; "I haven't the first qualification; I am a rough, plain man, fitted perhaps to lead soldiers and fight the enemies of our country,

but as for the Presidency, the idea is too absurd to be held."

But what American cannot be convinced that he is pre-eminently fitted for the office? It did not take long for the ambition to be kindled in the breast of the doughty hero. His friends flattered him into the conviction that he was the man of all others to assume the duties and the "bee" buzzed as loudly in Jackson's bonnet as it ever has in that of any of his successors.

Andrew Jackson's Popularity.

It cannot be denied that "Old Hickory" was a great man, and though he was deficient in education, lacking in statesmanship and obstinate to the last degree, he was the possessor of those rugged virtues which invariably command respect. He was honest, clean in his private life, a staunch friend, an unrelenting enemy and an intense patriot—one who was ready to risk his life at any hour for his country. In addition, he never knew the meaning of personal fear. No braver person ever lived. When the sheriff in a court-room was afraid to attempt to arrest a notorious desperado, Jackson leaped over the chairs, seized the ruffian by the throat, hurled him to the floor and cowed him into submission. When a piece of treachery was discovered on a Kentucky race course, Jackson faced a mob of a thousand infuriated men, ruled off the dishonest official and carried his point. He challenged the most noted duellist of the southwest, because he dared to cast a slur upon Jackson's wife. It mattered not that the scoundrel had never



ANDREW JACKSON

failed to kill his man, and that all of Jackson's friends warned him that it was certain death to meet the dead-shot. At the exchange of shots, Jackson was frightfully wounded, but he stood as rigid as iron, and sent a bullet through the body of his enemy, whom he did not let know he was himself wounded until the other had breathed his last.

Above all, had not "Old Hickory" won the battle of New Orleans, the most brilliant victory of the war of 1812? Did not he and his unerring riflemen from the backwoods of Tennessee and Kentucky spread consternation, death and defeat among the red-coated veterans of Waterloo? No wonder that the anniversary of that glorious battle is still celebrated in every part of the country, and no wonder, too, that the American people demanded that the hero of all these achievements should be rewarded with the highest office in the gift of his countrymen.

Jackson Nominated.

Jackson, having "placed himself in the hands of his friends," threw himself into the struggle with all the unquenchable ardor of his nature. On July 22, 1822, the Legislature of Tennessee was first in the field by placing him in nomination. On the 22d of February, 1824, a Federalist convention at Harrisburg, Pa., nominated him, and on the 4th of March following a Republican convention did the same. It would seem that he was now fairly before the country, but the regular Democratic nominee, that is, the one named by the congressional caucus, was William H. Craw-

ford, of Georgia. The remaining candidates were John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, and all of them belonged to the Republican party, which had retained the Presidency since 1800. Adams and Clay were what was termed *loose* constructionists, while Jackson and Crawford were *strict* constructionists.

"Old Hickory" Defeated.

The canvass was a somewhat jumbled one in which each candidate had his ardent partisans and supporters. The contest was carried out with vigor and the usual abuse, personalities and vituperation until the polls were closed. Then when the returns came to be made up it was found that Jackson had received 99 electoral votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41 and Clay 37. "Old Hickory" was well ahead, but his strength was not sufficient to make him President, even though on the popular vote he led Adams by more than 50,000. Consequently the election went to the House of Representatives, where the supporters of Clay combined with those of Adams and made him President. Thus came the singular result that the man who had the largest popular and electoral vote was defeated.

It was a keen disappointment to Jackson and his friends. The great Senator Benton, of Missouri, one of the warmest supporters of "Old Hickory," angrily declared that the House was deliberately defying the will of the people by placing a minority candidate in the chair. The Senator's position, however, was

untenable, and so it was that John Quincy Adams became the sixth President of our country.

Jackson's Triumph.

But the triumph of "Old Hickory" was only postponed. His defeat was looked upon by the majority of men as a deliberate piece of trickery, and they "lay low" for the next opportunity to square matters. No fear of a second chance being presented to their opponents. Jackson was launched into the canvass of 1828 like a cyclone, and when the returns were made up he had 178 electoral votes to 83 for Adams—a vote which lifted him safely over the edge of a plurality and seated him firmly in the White House.

It is not our province to treat of the administration of Andrew Jackson, for that belongs to history, but the hold which that remarkable man maintained upon the affections of the people was emphasized when, in 1832, he was re-elected by an electoral vote of 219 to 49 for Clay, 11 for Floyd, and 7 for Wirt. Despite the popular prejudice against a third term, there is little doubt that Jackson would have been successful had he chosen again to be a candidate. He proved his strength by selecting his successor, Martin Van Buren.

The "Log-cabin and Hard-cider" Campaign of 1840.

The next notable presidential battle was the "log-cabin and hard-cider" campaign of 1840, the like of which was never before seen in this country. Gen-

eral William Henry Harrison had been defeated by Van Buren in 1836, but on the 4th of December, 1839, the national Whig Convention, which met at Harrisburg to decide the claims of rival candidates, placed Harrison in nomination, while the Democrats again nominated Van Buren.

General Harrison lived at North Bend, Ohio, in a house which consisted of a log-cabin, built many years before by a pioneer, and was afterwards covered with clapboards. The visitors to the house praised the republican simplicity of the old soldier, the hero of Tippecanoe, and the principal campaign biography said that his table, instead of being supplied with costly wines, was furnished with an abundance of the best cider.

"Tippecanoe and Tyler Too."

The canvass had hardly opened, when the *Baltimore Republican* slurred General Harrison by remarking that, if some one would pension him with a few hundred dollars and give him a barrel of hard cider, he would sit down in his log-cabin and be content for the rest of his life. That sneer furnished the key-note of the campaign. Hard cider became almost the sole beverage of the Whigs throughout the country. In every city, town and village, and at the cross-roads, were erected log-cabins, while the amount of hard cider drank would have floated the American Navy. The nights were rent with the shouts of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," and scores of campaign songs were sung by tens of thousands

of exultant, even if not always musical voices. We recall that one of the most popular songs began:

> "Oh where, tell me where, was the log-cabin made?
> 'Twas made by the boys that wield the plough and the spade."

There was no end to the songs, which were set to the most popular airs and sung over and over again. You would hear them in the middle of the night on some distant mountain-top, where the twinkling camp-fire showed that a party of Whigs were drinking hard cider and whooping it up for Harrison; some singer with a strong, pleasing voice would start one of the songs from the platform, at the close of the orator's appeal, and hardly had his lips parted, when the thousands of Whigs, old and young, and including wives and daughters, would join in the words, while the enthusiasm quickly grew to a white heat. The horsemen riding home late at night awoke the echoes among the woods and hills with their musical praises of "Old Tippecanoe." The story is told that in one of the backwoods districts of Ohio, after the preacher had announced the hymn, the leader of the singing, a staid old deacon, struck in with a Harrison campaign song, in which the whole congregation, after the first moment's shock, heartily joined, while the aghast preacher had all he could do to restrain himself from "coming in on the chorus." There was some truth in the declaration of a disgusted Democrat that, from the opening of the canvass, the whole Whig population of the United States went upon a colossal spree on hard

cider, which continued without intermission until Harrison was installed in the White House.

And what did November tell? The electoral vote cast for Martin Van Buren, 60; for General Harrison, 234. No wonder that the supply of hard cider was almost exhausted within the next three days.

Peculiar Feature of the Harrison Campaign.

As we have noted, the method of nominating presidential candidates by means of popular conventions was fully established in 1840, and has continued uninterruptedly ever since. One peculiar feature marked the Harrison campaign of 1840. The convention which nominated Martin Van Buren met in Baltimore in May of that year. On the same day, the young Whigs of the country held a mass meeting in Baltimore, at which fully twenty thousand persons were present. They came from every part of the Union, Massachusetts sending fully a thousand. When the adjournment took place, it was to meet again in Washington at the inauguration of Harrison. The railway was then coming into general use, and this greatly favored the meeting of mass conventions.

"Rough and Ready."

The Democrats swung back to power in 1844, when James K. Polk defeated Henry Clay, nominated for the third time. During his administration occurred the war with Mexico, of which General Zachary Taylor was the popular hero. His bluff manner won for him the title of "Rough and Ready." He was a patriot,

well informed and well educated, though he took so little interest in politics that he had not cast a vote for forty years. He had no special yearning for an election to the Presidency, but what man can refuse the honor when it comes to him? He chose an able Cabinet, and would have made an excellent record but for his untimely death during the second year of his term. His nomination and election were attended by no very noteworthy features.

Democratic Convention in Baltimore, 1852.

When the time came for other presidential nominations, the Democratic convention met in Baltimore, June 12, 1852. The most prominent candidates were James Buchanan, Stephen A. Douglas, Lewis Cass, and William L. Marcy. Ballot after ballot was taken without any one of these men developing sufficient strength to bring success. On the thirty-sixth ballot, the Virginia delegation presented the name of Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire. Many members of the convention had never heard of him, and the public at large were no better informed, but on the forty-ninth ballot he received 282 votes to 11 for all the the others.

"Old Fuss and Feathers."

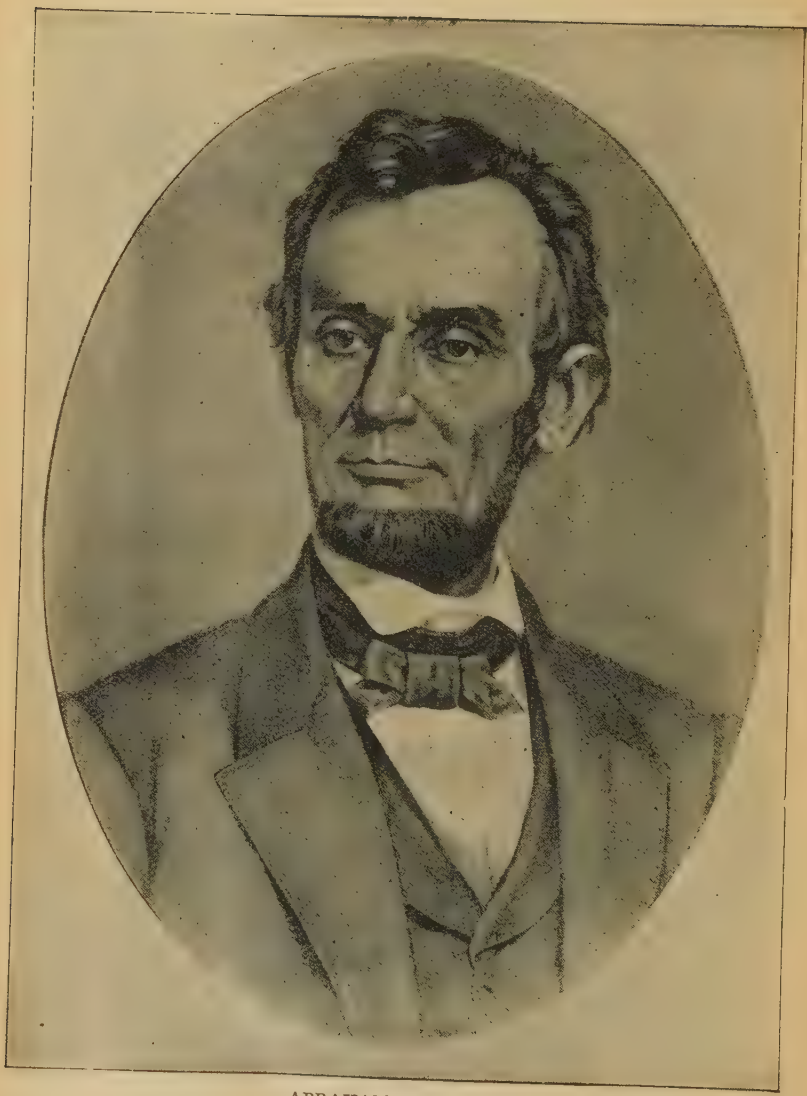
Pierce's opponent was General Winfield Scott, the commander-in-chief of the Mexican war, and under whom Pierce served. Scott was not popular either in the North or South. He was a martinet, overbearing in his manner and with no power to make friends. It seemed presumptuous to him for any one

to think of opposing his nomination or election to the Presidency. During the campaign, the war with Mexico was fought over again, times without number, and every incident of the old soldier's life was lauded to the skies, until it seemed that no greater hero or military genius had ever lived.

But November told an astounding story. The only States carried by Scott were Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee, with their 42 electoral votes; while all the rest, comprehending 254 votes, went to Pierce. If "Old Fuss and Feathers" ever met his Waterloo, it was when he confronted one of his brigadier-generals at the polls.

A Tragic Period.

The presidential campaigns, which hitherto had been fought out philosophically and with abundance of humor and absurd incident, now approach the tragic period. The baleful shadow of slavery, which had hovered over the political sky, broadened and deepened until the light of the sun, moon and stars was blotted out. That cloud, at first no bigger than a man's hand, now darkened the heavens with its awful pall, through which flashed the red lightning tongues of civil war. Fremont, the first Republican candidate, had shown so much strength in 1856, that the South was startled. Her people had held the reins of government for many years, but they now saw that a sentiment was growing so fast against the aggressiveness of slavery that it was likely at any time to turn the scales against them. The Southern leaders



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

loved slavery more than the Union; they believed the North was making unconstitutional invasions of their rights; they were sure that if they stayed in the Union, their pet institution would be destroyed; therefore they prepared to withdraw upon the first election of a candidate on the platform of opposition to the extension of slavery.

That candidate was Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. Jefferson Davis saw that the only possible method of defeating him was by a fusing of all the elements of the opposition, and he urged such fusion. But, as was said of slavery, it split everything with which it had to do. It split most of the churches, and now, before splitting the country, split the Democratic party into three factions or wings.

The Democratic Party Divided.

The Democratic convention assembled in Charleston in April, 1860. They had hardly come together when they began quarreling over the slavery question. Among the members were some so violent that they favored the reopening of the slave trade. The North had refused to obey the Dred Scott decision of 1857, and, instead of surrendering fugitive slaves, helped to conceal or help them on their way to Canada. Until the Northerners would retrace their steps and allow the slave-owner to take his "property" wherever he chose within the United States, without losing ownership, these extremists insisted upon seceding from the Union.

Stephen A. Douglas.

But there were others in the convention that were less radical, that still loved the Union and were willing to make concessions and accept compromises. The inevitable consequence was another split. Stephen A. Douglas was the choice of these men. He was the champion of popular or squatter sovereignty—which means that he favored leaving the question of slavery to be settled by the residents of each Territory for themselves. This did not suit the extremists, who, determined to prevent the nomination of Douglas, withdrew from the convention. Those who remained, after balloting for a while without result, adjourned on the 3d of May to Baltimore, where, on the 18th of June, they placed Douglas in nomination, with Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, as the candidate for Vice-President.

The platform of this party was the declaration that the people of each Territory should control slavery in that Territory, but they were willing to abide by the decision of the Supreme Court.

John C. Breckinridge.

The seceding delegates adjourned to Richmond and thence to Baltimore, where, on the 28th of June, they nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon. Their platform declared it the right and duty of Congress to protect slavery in the Territories whenever the owner chose to take his slaves thither.

The Constitutional Unionists.

The American party, or, as they were called, the Constitutional Unionists, had already met in Baltimore, where they nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts. They favored the "Constitution, the Union and the enforcement of the laws." This was vague and hazy, and the party might well be termed the milk and water one, for it sought to do that which was now impossible—drop the question of slavery from politics. It may be said that the accursed thing had become the sole question before the country, and rivers of blood would be required to extinguish the flames that were already kindling.

Who that took part in those lurid days can ever forget them? The country heaved and swayed as if with an earthquake. The most passionate appeals were made to voters, but it may be said that not one person in a thousand really believed that a terrible civil war was at hand. It was thought that the flurry would soon blow over, and even Jefferson Davis, after the Southern Confederacy was organized, declared that he would be able to hold all the blood that would be spilled in the hollow of his hand.

Woful Misunderstandings.

The two sections wofully misunderstood each other. The North boasted that if the South dared raise its arm against the Union, the Seventh Regiment, of New York, or, indeed, any similar organization, would march from the Potomac to the Rio Grande and sub-

due the rebels. Secretary Seward thought the trouble would be over in ninety days, and commerce, manufactures and trade kept right on, until the thunder of Sumter's cannon echoed through the land and the people awoke.

The hideous blunder of the South was their belief that they had so many friends in the North that they would not permit the national government to make war upon the secessionists in the effort to bring them back into the Union. If war should be waged nevertheless, they were sure that thousands of Northerners would hasten to enlist on their side. It was a woful blunder we repeat, for while the North was ready to go to the utmost length that honor would permit, its love for the Union transcended everything else, and, as her sons proved, they were ready to fight to the death to maintain it.

The Result of the Election of 1860.

Since the election of 1860 was unprecedented, it is well to recall the figures. On the popular vote Abraham Lincoln received 1,866,352 votes; Stephen A. Douglas, 1,375,157; John C. Breckinridge, 845,763; and John Bell, 589,581. The electoral votes in the same order were 180, 12, 72 and 39.

All know what followed. There were four years of fearful civil war, and then the Union was restored, purified of slavery, and stronger, firmer and more enduring than ever before. In the furnace-blast she had gone through the pangs of transformation, and

who can doubt that the Union is destined to last as long as the starry firmament itself?

Ulysses S. Grant and Horatio Seymour.

The American nation dearly loves a military idol, and General Grant was the idol of the North. He was the great military genius developed by the civil war, and he had accomplished that which others had tried in vain to do: he had conquered General Lee, and compelled the surrender of the armed hosts of the Rebellion. So nothing was more natural than that he should be put forward as the candidate for the Presidency when the term of Andrew Johnson drew to a close.

It is not to be imagined that so sagacious a politician as Horatio Seymour believed there was an earthly possibility of his success when he entered the race against General Grant. If he held such a hope, it was most startlingly dissipated in 1868, when he carried but eight States, while twenty-six voted for Grant.

Unique Campaign of 1872.

The presidential campaign of 1872 was unique in its way. There is something grotesque in the thought of Horace Greeley becoming the Democratic candidate in opposition to Grant, the Republican nominee. No one had delivered more telling blows against the Democracy than the vigorous and talented editor of the *Tribune*. He had fought them mercilessly for more than a generation and none was his equal. Naturally an element of dissatisfaction grew up under

Grant as his term went on, and the malcontents coalesced under the name of Liberal Republicans, made Greeley their candidate, and he was afterwards "endorsed" by the regulars. The dose was too bitter for thousands to swallow, and on election day they "went a-fishing," with the result that Grant carried 31 States, while only 6 supported Greeley. The pathetic element was not lacking, for the gifted and honest man succumbed to the humiliation and was in his grave when the electoral vote was counted.

The Most Critical Period in the History of Our Country.

Perhaps few will believe what is unquestionably the fact, that the most critical period in the history of our country was not in the Revolution, nor yet in the civil war, but in the autumn of 1876, or more properly, the opening weeks of 1877. The peril was an appalling one, and the most thoughtful patriots trembled for the safety of their beloved land.

There was nothing specially noteworthy in the political campaign of 1876. The Democratic candidate was Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, one of the ablest men in the Democratic party, and against whose character nothing could be said. His opponent was General Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, who had made a creditable record in the war. Both had served their States as governors, and both were men of unquestioned ability. The campaign was not extraordinarily exciting and was marked by no more than the usual violence of expression. When the vote came to be counted, however, it was found that,

outside of several disputed States, each candidate had received about the same number of electoral votes.

Charge of Fraud.

Naturally each party charged the other with fraud. In Louisiana the returning board gave the Republican ticket a majority of several thousand by throwing out the returns from several parishes, on the ground of intimidation of voters. The Democrats insisted that these returns should be counted, and had that been done, Tilden would have carried the State.

In South Carolina there were two bodies claiming to be the legal Legislature. One gave a plurality to the Republican and the other to the Democratic ticket. The same state of affairs prevailed in Florida, where each claimed a slight majority. Another complication resulted in Oregon, where one of the Republican electors was declared ineligible, because he held the office of postmaster when appointed elector. The critical delicacy of the situation will be understood when it is remembered that if the Republicans secured every point claimed they would have only 185 electoral votes to 184 of the Democrats.

The counter-charges of fraud were repeated with increasing bitterness, and many partisans began talking loudly of seating their candidate by force of arms. Had a collision taken place, it would have been not a war of the North against the South, but of neighbor against neighbor, and heaven only knows what the end would have been.

More Trouble.

As if no element of trouble was to be lacking, the Senate was Republican and the House Democratic. The law requires that the electoral vote shall be counted at a joint session of the two Houses, and since double sets of returns were sure to come from four States, the dispute would never end.

The situation was unparalleled. The peril was of the gravest nature. Some plan must be devised or civil war and anarchy were certain. Thoughtful men were alarmed and began to discuss a way out of the danger. Finally Congress passed the bill creating an electoral commission, to whom all questions in dispute were to be referred, and to whose decision each party would submit.

A Way Out of the Danger.

This tribunal consisted of five Senators, appointed by the Vice-President (three Republicans and two Democrats), five Representatives, appointed by the Speaker (three Democrats and two Republicans), and five Judges of the Supreme Court (three Republicans and two Democrats). The expectation was that Judge David Davis would act as one of the members of the Commission. He was appointed such member, and the body could not have been divided more evenly, for it had seven Democrats, seven Republicans and one Independent in the person of Judge Davis. He was elected United States Senator, however, and Judge Bradley, of New Jersey, took his place on the Commission. Thus constituted, eight Republicans to seven Democrats, every disputed question was de-

THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION WHICH DECIDED UPON THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT HAYES.

Composed of three Republican and two Democratic Senators, three Democratic and two Republican Representatives, two Republican and two Democratic Justices of the Supreme Court, with Justice Bradley chosen by the commission as a fifth.

cided by that vote in favor of the Republicans, and consequently Rutherford B. Hayes became the nineteenth President of the United States.

The Republican National Convention of 1880, in Chicago.

Probably no "unwritten law" has so tenacious a hold upon the American people as the one which forbids a President to hold his office more than two terms. Undoubtedly it is the same feeling which caused Blumer, of New Hampshire, to vote for John Quincy Adams, in order to prevent the unanimous election of Monroe. The only determined effort to break this tradition was made in June, 1880, at the Republican national convention in Chicago, when the imperial Roscoe Conkling led the movement to renominate Grant. He nominated him in a powerful speech, and for thirty-six ballots Grant received a support varying from 302 to 313, but it was impossible to rally enough strength to bring the nomination to the foremost Union leader. On the thirty-sixth ballot a rush to Garfield gave him a majority, and his nomination was made unanimous.

The Most Peculiar Political Campaign of Later Years.

The political campaign which followed (1884) was the most peculiar of those of later years. The brilliant, able and magnetic James G. Blaine of Maine was nominated on the fourth ballot, in June, 1884, for the Presidency, his opponent being Grover Cleveland, whose prodigious majority when elected Gov-

ernor of New York, attracted national attention and led to his nomination for the Presidency.

It was said of Von Moltke, the great Prussian general, that he knew how to be silent, and consequently wise, in eight languages. Henry Clay would have been President had he refrained from writing a certain letter. The same is probably true of General Hancock but for his off-hand declaration that the "tariff is a local issue," and it is conceded that Blaine would have been successful in 1884, but for an injudicious expression made, not by himself, but by one of his friends.

"Rum, Romanism and Rebellion."

At the height of the political campaign a "ministers' meeting" was called by the Republican party managers in New York city, at which the Rev. Samuel D. Burchard made a speech. Aiming to give a neat alliterative turn to a sentence, he referred to the Democratic party as that of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." At the moment he uttered the words Mr. Blaine's attention was drawn away and he did not notice the expression, or, as he afterward stated, he would have reproved it. But it was caught up by the "Plumed Knight's" opponents and the press made the utmost use of it. The injury done by the unhappy expression could not be recalled. It alienated just enough Roman Catholic votes to swing the State of New York over to Cleveland. There were 1,100,000 votes cast. Had 524 of those who voted for Cleveland voted for Blaine, he

would have been chosen President, whereas the electoral vote by which he was defeated was 219 to 182, because by a plurality of 1,047 the vote of the Empire State was added to the Democratic column.

But the background of all this comedy has been tragedy, for where one is successful, others must drink of the bitterness of defeat. At the last moment, the "dark horse" has bounded ahead of all competitors and carried off the prize, and not always has human nature been equal to the task of accepting disappointment with philosophy and good grace.

Henry Clay was filled with wrath, for there was justice in his claim that when the success of his party was certain, some one else was nominated, while when failure was almost inevitable, he was chosen as the victim. Webster yearned with pathetic longing for the Presidency and died disappointed. He scornfully refused the nomination for the Vice-Presidency under Harrison, and again under Taylor, when, had he accepted either, he would have become President, since Harrison and Taylor died in office. Seward gracefully bowed to defeat by Lincoln, whom he profoundly admired and became the mainstay of his administration. Blaine was equally chivalrous until the crowning disaster of 1892, when, walking in the shadow of death, his proud spirit rebelled. John Sherman, convinced that he had been betrayed in the house of his friends, does not hesitate to declare the fact, in scorching sentences, years after his overthrow. After all, presidential candidates are like the majority of mankind.

Questions for the Next Administration to Consider.

THERE is no fear that any administration of this country will ever lack for important questions to engage its attention. Time will never hang heavy on its hands, and a country with such vast and varying interests will always appeal to the ablest and most thoughtful statesmen, who will be confronted by problems that will require all their ability to solve.

The Hawaiian Tangle.

We have referred in another place to the most important international questions that are sure to come up for consideration. The Hawaiian tangle of a few years ago is quiescent at present, but, sooner or later, it will be before the American people for final disposal. The ultimate result, as has been stated, will undoubtedly be the annexation of the valuable and interesting islands to the great Republic. President Cleveland is opposed to such a course, and his policy has been directed against its consummation, but his successor may hold different views, and, if so, he is sure to give them expression and effect.

The Venezuela Dispute.

The Venezuela dispute will be settled with Eng-

land without war between that country and our own. The "sober second thought," to which reference has been made, has already made itself felt on both sides of the Atlantic, and it is impossible to believe that any contingency can ever arise which will cause the millions of the two greatest English-speaking peoples to fly at each other's throats, and to turn back the hands on the dial of human progress for a thousand years.

The "Queen of the Antilles."

As for Cuba, the future is less clearly outlined. Spain may be weak, but she is proud and a stickler for so-called honor. She has already made immense sacrifices in life and treasure to prevent the loosening of her grip upon the "Queen of the Antilles," and she will never yield until iron necessity compels her to do so. She would not hesitate to go to war with the United States if sufficient provocation were given, and when her presumption carries her that far, there can be but one result. She will receive the most complete and overwhelming trouncing that one nation ever inflicted upon another, and Cuba will become independent, to be followed at no distant day by her absorption into the great American Union.

The Armenian Massacres.

There is one phase of our foreign relations which is not clear to many citizens. No one with a feeling of human sympathy in his heart has failed to be touched by the horrible massacres in Armenia during the past months, and had the United States de-

cided to intervene forcibly and stop the wholesale murders by the "unspeakable Turk," the action would have been applauded to the echo; but our government has no more right to take such action, inspired though it might be by the highest motives that can actuate a nation, than it would have to unseat a member elected to the English Parliament, because of some irregularity in the vote. To interfere in foreign quarrels would be the suicide of our country. We would inevitably become involved in wars with the leading nations of Europe. The catastrophe which we attempted to avert would be surpassed a thousand fold in horror by that which would be precipitated.

Washington was not only a great soldier, but a wise and far-seeing statesman. To his sagacity was due the resolution of our country to hold itself immovably aloof from all entangling foreign alliances. Hardly was the Revolution finished, when the most appalling revolution in human history broke out in France and drenched that fair land with blood. She had given us great help in the achievement of our independence, and naturally we were deeply grateful and sympathetic with her in her struggle against tyranny. When the democracy of France appealed to us for help, the clamor was loud that we should give that help. Genêt, the French minister sent to this country, began enlisting men and sending out privateers before going through the formality of presenting his credentials to the President. He was cheered and encouraged by many officers and leaders

of our own Revolution. No action by our government would have been more popular than its assistance of the vast mob of madmen that were desolating France.

But Washington was not deceived for a moment. He compelled the recall of the blatant Genêt and would not permit so much as the raising of a finger in behalf of the revolutionists in France. He was wise, and ere long the most impulsive of partisans saw and appreciated his wisdom.

Our Quarrel with Chili.

It is the duty of every government to protect the rights of its citizen or people wherever such rights are invaded. In 1835, during the administration of Andrew Jackson, the natives of an island in the South Sea massacred the crew of an American trading vessel. A war ship was sent thither, and satisfaction being refused, the vessel proceeded to bombard the town, and when the bombardment ceased, there was no town there, the murderers of the Americans being among those that were slain.

Coming to a later date, all remember our quarrel with Chili, because of the attack upon a party of American sailors in the harbor of Valparaiso. Satisfaction was demanded, and when Chili dallied, preparations were made for forcing her to the wall, and beyond all doubt, she would have been compelled to pay dear for the outrage. Thereupon she apologized, paid an indemnity and the account was closed.

This illustrates the nature of the protection which

all civilized governments are bound to extend to their people. One of the most creditable facts regarding Great Britain is that she is always resolute in this respect. An outrage upon an Englishman in any part of the world is sure of redress by his government. England will go to war at any time to right the wrongs of one of its humblest citizens.

The Necessity of The "Sick Man."

During the atrocious massacres in Armenia we were represented by a vigilant and faithful minister, who devoted every energy to the protection of Americans. That he did not always succeed was no fault of his, for other nationalities nearer the scene suffered. It would be a blessing to the world if Turkey were blotted out of existence, but it so happens that she is necessary for maintaining the political equilibrium of Europe. The slightest interference by one nation arouses the instant jealousy of all the rest, lest some of their territorial or political rights may be injured. And so it is that the "sick man" is propped up and allowed to curse Christianity and civilization.

Should the United States attempt intervention, she would precipitate one of the most destructive of wars, with the horrors beyond estimate. The wail of Armenia is not the first one that has reached our shuddering ears. The struggle of the Greeks against Turkey, the battling of the South American republics for independence, the appeal of Hungary, bleeding under the iron heel of Austria, the cry of downtrodden Ireland—these are only a few of the prayers

A HORRIBLE SPECTACLE IN AN ARMENIAN CEMETERY AFTER A MASSACRE.

Two rows of dead, thirty-five deep, laid down and partially covered with earth. Four men have just deposited another corpse, and so started a third row—A huge grave fifty-three feet square for the reception of the slaughtered Armenians.

which have stirred our pity and made us yearn to strike vigorous blows in behalf of the suppliants. But no nation does anything for the sake of humanity alone, and the rigid law of self-preservation compels the United States to keep clear of all foreign quarrels and entanglements. We may help men struggling for liberty with money, arms, ammunition and volunteers, but it must be "unofficial"; the government, as such, can take no part in it.

There are two domestic questions that will engage the attention of the next administration and probably of many that are to follow: they are the tariff and the money problem.

The Tariff Question.

The tariff question is older than the government itself. Before the adoption of the Constitution, the States occasionally levied tariffs on imports and more than once they were of a protective nature. Their disjointed character and their consequent hindrance to commerce constituted a powerful cause of the closer union which came in 1787.

When the national government was finally organized the most pressing question was that of finance. The country was as poor as it could be. The people in more than one section rebelled against the imposition of taxes, for the all-sufficient reason that they were too poor to pay them. Yet the government could not live without money, and it had decided that every penny incurred by the long, exhausting struggle for independence should be paid.

How was the money to be obtained?

Manifestly from one source: the imposition of duties upon goods brought into this country. Such imposition constitutes the tariff.

The "American System."

Since the new Constitution gave Congress the power of regulating commerce, the first Congress of 1789 passed a tariff act which imposed a duty of about eight per cent. ad valorem on imports. These rates were slightly increased in 1790 and again in 1792, an attempt being made to protect American industries, of which policy Hamilton and the Federalists were advocates. A stimulus was given to American manufactures by the war of 1812, which was continued by the tariff of 1816. This imposed a duty of some twenty-five per cent. on leading manufactures, commercial New England and the agricultural South protesting. A new tariff act was passed in 1824 which increased duties on metals and agricultural products. Henry Clay now stood forward as the champion of the "American System," which was a combination of a higher protective tariff with governmental expenditures for internal improvements.

The "Tariff of Abominations."

In 1828 Congress passed the "tariff of abominations," as it was called by its enemies, which imposed duties upon raw materials. It roused the South to anger, for that section was the chief sufferer. Indignant protests followed, and, though the tariff of 1832 was about the same as that of 1824, it

retained the principle of protection. History has told how South Carolina declared the act unconstitutional and void and proceeded to nullify it, making preparations for a forcible resistance to its collection. To quell the storm he had raised, Clay introduced and Congress passed the act of 1833, which provided for a gradual reduction of duties to a uniform rate which was to be reached in 1842.

Later Tariffs.

In 1846 a tariff was enacted which was mainly "for revenue only," followed by a still lower tariff in 1857, which remained in force until the breaking out of the civil war. In 1861, the Morrill Tariff became law. It was a Republican measure and in the line of high protection. The enormous drain upon the national resources caused an increase of the rates, which continued long after the last gun of the war was fired. Through the recommendations of the Tariff Commission of 1882, a few unimportant reductions were made in the tariff. This, too, was a Republican measure, but since then, the Republican party has become that of high protection, while the Democrats, as a party, have favored a reduction of rates. The McKinley Act of 1890 was a tremendous step in the direction of protection, while the Wilson Bill, following a few years later, was a move toward a tariff for revenue only.

Such, in brief, is a history of the most important tariff legislation. It should be remembered that among the Democrats are many who favor a protec-

tive tariff (such, for instance, as the late Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania), and the Republicans include some who favor a tariff for revenue only, while the country itself has a considerable number who contend that absolute free trade is the true policy.

How to adjust these principles so as to bring the greatest good to the greatest number is one of the ever-present problems. It is not our province to discuss the important question, but rather to present the views of the ablest exponents of the respective policies, which we do in the pages that follow.

The Money Problem.

A question hardly second in importance is that respecting our currency. How shall the gold, silver and paper currency be so adjusted that all three will remain at par and fully meet the demands of the country? The man who can answer this question will be one of the greatest benefactors of mankind. Not only has each leading political party made the attempt, but the task has been undertaken by the Greenbackers, the Populists and by those who would form a party of their own, or be independent of all parties. And still the question confronts us.

Coin, because of its intrinsic value, must be the basis of all monetary systems. We accept a debtor's note when we know of a certainty that it will be paid at maturity. So we accept the paper promises of the government, when we believe the government can and will pay them without discount. Paper money is more convenient to handle than metal money, and so

long as it is worth its face value, so long will it circulate to the partial or total exclusion of gold and silver. It is when a doubt of the solvency of the government creeps into the mind of the public, that the people demand the money upon which there is never a discount.

A Substitute Must Be Provided.

But there is not enough gold in the country or in the world to meet the requirements of trade and business. Therefore, a substitute must be provided.

The vast product of the silver mines of the West has made that metal so abundant that its representatives in Congress demand legislation in its favor. The cry is that the coinage of silver and gold shall be in the ratio of 16 to 1. If this proportion will maintain the parity of the two metals, so that a dollar of one is worth a dollar of the other, we shall have a bimetallic standard. When the United States began coining silver and gold at the ratio of 15 to 1, the ratio of France was 15½ to 1. Following the law of trade, gold went where it could get the most for itself; it went to France and left the silver with us and gold disappeared from the currency. In 1834, our forefathers changed the ratio to 16 to 1 and gold flowed back to the United States.

"Bimetallism."

The free silverites claim that the United States can maintain what they call "bimetallism" by free silver coinage at 16 to 1. An examination of the platforms of the respective political parties will show our read-

ers the conflicting views upon this great question, while the following exposition by the foremost experts and authorities will make clear many points upon the subject to which our words are intended to serve as an introduction.

While the system of government in the United States is the best in the world, it would not be human if it did not contain some defects, all of which can be eliminated by careful and wise legislation. There are so many radical differences in some of the laws that it would seem that national legislation is demanded in the interests of uniformity.

National Bankruptcy and Divorce Laws.

To illustrate, there has been a crying need for years of a national bankruptcy law. It would be in the line of justice, for it must be conceded that the law which is the nearest approach to justice in one State, should prevail in all. At present the bankrupt laws at one point may be radically different from those a few rods away, simply because a State boundary crosses the intervening space. The demand for a national bankrupt law has become such a necessity that it may be looked upon as one of the certainties of the near future.

Another need is for a national divorce law. At present, we have one State—South Carolina—which grants divorce for no cause whatever, while in South Dakota and Oklahoma divorces are given for such trifling pretexts and at such wholesale rates that it amounts to a national scandal. In the interests of

public morality, this outrageous state of affairs should be brought to an end by national legislation.

The Temperance Problem.

Another question which has long engaged the thoughts of good men and women is as to the extent to which State and National legislation shall go in the direction of temperance. The evils of intemperance are one of the most frightful afflictions that has ever fallen upon humanity. How to lessen, if not to extinguish these evils, is a problem worthy the thought of all who have the good of their kind at heart. In 1851 Maine adopted a law which forbade the selling of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, and prohibition laws have been passed since then in other States. How far these laws have been effective it is not for us to attempt to say. There are those who contend that prohibition is the surest preventive of drunkenness, while others maintain that it wholly fails of its purpose.

The latter look upon moral suasion, or an appeal to a man's common sense and conscience, as the only method that can bring good results. Still others consider high license as the true panacea. State Legislatures are continually engaging in temperance legislation. Local option seems to have been effective in many places, while in the city of New York, the strict enforcement of existing laws, which have long been a dead letter, has unquestionably been a severe blow to the liquor men.

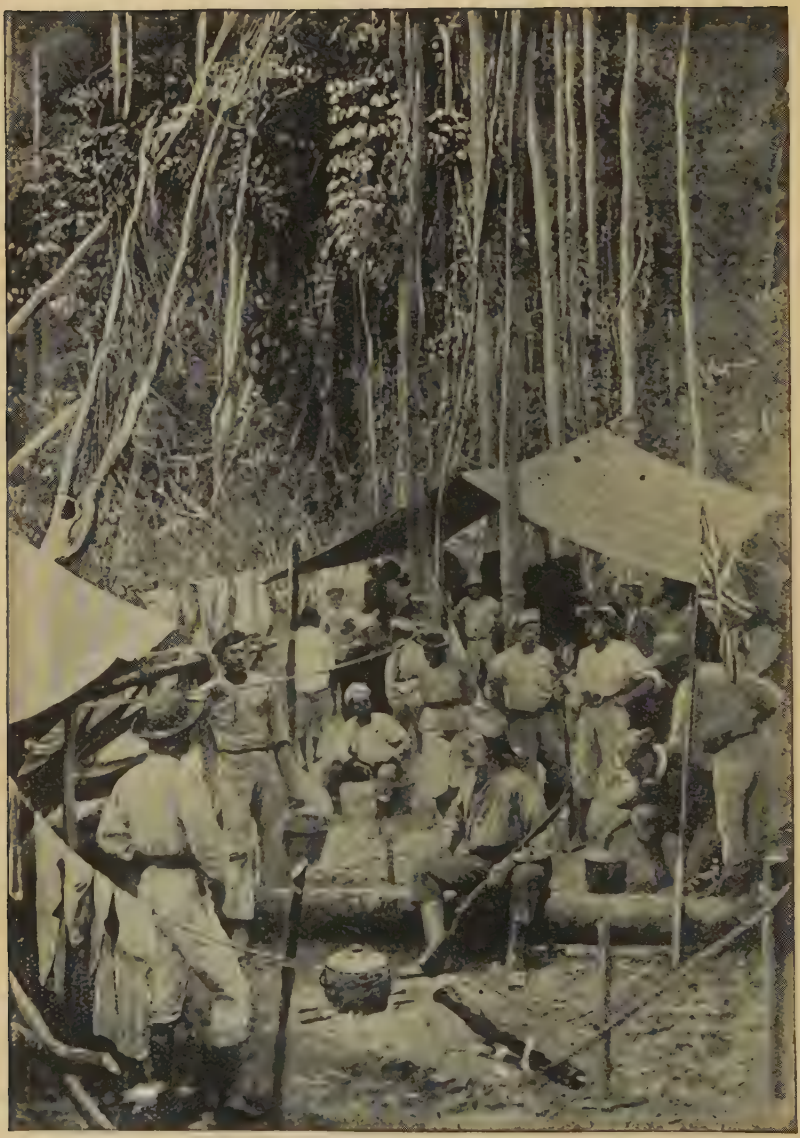
How far it is wise to go in the direction of legisla-

tion, what rights should be invaded for the sake of benefiting humanity, what in short is the best method of lessening if not extirpating the evils of intemperance, are subjects to which every thoughtful person should give his earnest attention.

"Paternalism in Government."

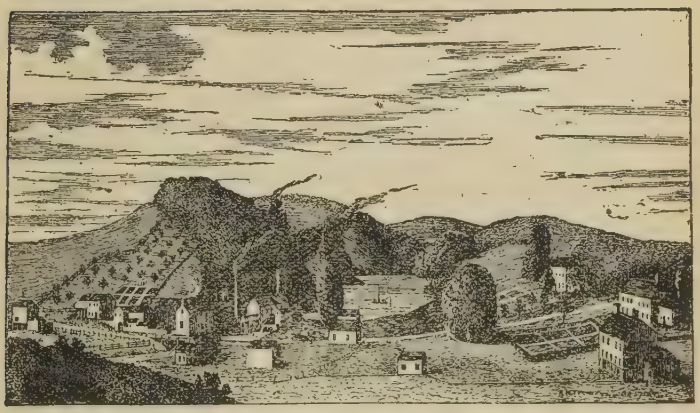
Another question that has attracted interest may be termed "paternalism in government." There are those who think that the government should run our railroad and telegraph lines and that post-offices should become banking institutions. Bearing upon the question of the govermental control of the railroads, there is no better authority than Chauncey M. Depew, President of the New York Central. While making a tour through California a short time ago, he said, referring to the scheme of the government taking control of the Central Pacific in that State:

I do not believe in government ownership. A government road would be badly run, for politicians would run it and it would be run at a loss. Congress would have to make up the deficit, and then the New England States, in fact all the States of the East and South, would raise a protest because like sums were not spent to aid transportation enterprises in them. Eastern Congressmen would refuse to vote appropriations to pay Pacific roads' debts, and the result can be easily imagined. Owing to the poor service which a government road would give, places reached by competing lines would give their trade to them, and places served only by a government road would find their trade paralyzed. In South America govern-



A GOLD PROSPECTING PARTY ON DEBATABLE LAND IN BRITISH GUIANA.

ment ownership was tried and found wanting. As to the excellent railway system of Germany under government control, the result was higher freight rates than this country could stand. If the same rates prevailed in California, not an orange or a pound of fruit or grain could be shipped to the Missouri river at a profit. Under the German system of railroad management the great prolific West would still be a desert waste.



THE SPEEDWELL IRON WORKS, MORRISTOWN, N. J.

Here was forged the shaft for the "Savannah," the first steamship which crossed the Atlantic. Here were manufactured the tires, axles and cranks of the first American locomotive. Shop in which Vail and Baxter constructed the first telegraph apparatus, invented by Morse, for exhibition before Congress.

A Protective Tariff.

BY THOMAS B. REED,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

If anything seems to have been discussed until human nature can bear it no more, it is the tariff. Nevertheless the fact that the subject is still before the people shows that the last word has not yet been said, and that the subject has not yet been exhausted or understood.

The History of Protection.

The history of protection has been most remarkable. Fifty years ago the question seemed to be closed. Great Britain had adopted free trade, the United States had started in the same direction, and the whole world seemed about to follow. To-day the entire situation seems to be reversed. The whole civilized world except Great Britain has become protectionist, and the very year last passed has witnessed the desertion of English principles by the last English colony which held out. This has been done in defiance of the opinions of every political economist in England who wrote prior to 1850, and of most of those who have written since.

When you add to this that the arguments against it have seemed so clear and simple that every school

boy can comprehend them and every patriot with suitable lungs could fill the atmosphere with the catchwords, the wonder increases that in every country it should still flourish and maintain its vigor. Ten years ago it was equally true at one and the same time that every boy who graduated from college graduated a free trader, and that every one of them who afterwards became a producer or distributor of our goods became also a protectionist.

"The Whole Race Wiser Than Any Man."

The arguments of the political economist, clear as crystal, do not seem to have convinced the world, nor, what is much worse, do they seem to have made any substantial progress. On the contrary, these economists have taken up the task of tearing each other to pieces, so that to-day there is hardly a nameable important proposition on which they agree, and the more the facts of the universe are developed, the more confusion seems to reign among them. Meanwhile the world has proceeded in its own way without much regard for their theories and their wisdom. I do not mean that studious men have not discovered great truths and had glimpses of still greater, but in the main they have only passed from one inaccuracy to another, because they have forgotten that the whole race is wiser than any man.

We cannot hope to do much better than these famous men, except so far as we view with tolerance what great masses of our fellow-men are doing and assume that they are probably right instead of as-

suming that they are probably wrong in matters which so deeply concern them.

The Truth the Simplest When Understood.

It is often said that the truth is the simplest. That is so, after you understand the truth, but when you do not, a lie is far simpler. When Copernicus discovered the theory of the universe, it took centuries for men to believe it. The Ptolemaic system was so simple that anybody by using his eyes could see that the sun rose in the East and set in the West, just like the moon, and both in the same way revolved around the earth, and to-day most men accept the Copernican theory, not on their own understanding, but on the general belief of mankind.

I shall not therefore, in what I have to say, be able —being, as I hope on the side of truth—to rival the charming simplicity of the gentlemen opposite, or like them, to compress the universe into the nutshell of a speech. I regret this the less because I know that many a philosopher has put the world into a nutshell only to find that the nutshell contained a world in which nobody ever lived, or moved, or had his being, and consequently a world which was of no human account.

Large Facts.

I shall not attempt to deal much with the metaphysics of this discussion or to cite statistics which have no meaning except to the student, and so often mislead even him. I shall for the most part confine

myself to large facts which are known of all, or can be ascertained in the simplest possible way.

Whether the universal sentiment in favor of protection as applied to every country is sound or not, I do not stop to discuss. Whether it is best for the United States of America alone concerns me now, and the first thing I have to say is, that after thirty years of protection, undisturbed by any serious menace of free trade, this country was the greatest and most flourishing nation on the face of the earth. Moreover, with the shadow of this unjustifiable bill resting cold upon it, with mills closed, with hundreds of thousands of men unemployed, industry at a standstill, and prospects before it more gloomy than ever marked its history—except one—this country is still the greatest and the richest that the sun shines on, or ever did shine on.

Trying Ordeals.

During that period of growth which lifted us from a position so low that we actually had human slavery within our borders to our present condition of freedom and prosperity, we struggled through a dreadful war which desolated one-half of the country and so strained the resources of the other half, both in money and in men, that its impress to-day is visible every year on our tremendous pension roll, although almost obliterated from our public debt. After the war ceased, our prosperity was clouded with a six years' struggle with a disordered currency and the reconstruction of labor and industry in the South.

No nation in the world's history ever passed through in so short a time two ordeals so trying and so severe.

In spite of both these misfortunes, not only have we studded the country east of the Mississippi all over with mills and workshops, factories and furnaces, covered it with railroads, exploited the oil and gas fields of Pennsylvania, Indiana and Ohio, and turned into light, heat and production the fierce, imprisoned energy of a thousand mines of coal, but beyond the Mississippi, that mighty country, which some day will astonish the world with its exceeding riches, we have built four great trans-continental lines across the Rocky Mountains, and have driven the great American desert off the maps and off the face of the earth.

The Future Not Exhausted

Nor have we in any way exhausted the future. This country is ten times more capable to-day of further development than it was in 1860. Let me state one little item—sample of a thousand. Only last year, at Rumford, in my own State, were brought under harness waterfalls which will give to the productive energies of this country 40,000 horse power for every day in the year. Three hundred and fifty thousand just such horse power runs to waste every day in New England alone. Whenever our citizens are rich enough to employ these great resources, my hope is that they will be rich enough to consume their products themselves.

So utterly undisputed and so distinctly visible to

every human being in this country has been our growth and progress, that this hasty outline is all that is needed to remind you of one great fact, that whatever the future industrial system of this country may be, the past system is a splendid monument to that series of successful statesmen who found the country bankrupt and distracted, and left it first on the list of nations.

Other Testimony.

But we must not leave this matter to our own praises. Let others speak, and above all the citizens of that land which is our great rival.

I have here an article in the *Fortnightly Review*, wherein Mr. J. Stephen Jeans, a British free-trade writer, in December, 1882, declares that—

America has for years enjoyed an amazing degree of prosperity, so much so indeed, that, to use the eloquent words of Edmund Burke, "generalities which in all other cases are apt to heighten and raise the subject have here a tendency to sink it. Fiction lags after truth, invention is unfruitful, and imagination cold and barren."

When I read these words I said, How differently men look at the same things!

Here is a cold-blooded Englishman who, in talking of the "not unreasonable hopes"—I use his very words—which his countrymen entertain "that the greatest market in the world and probably in the world's history is once again to be found lying at the feet of British industry and commerce," declares that

"America has for many years enjoyed an amazing degree of prosperity, so much so, indeed," that he has to use the words of Burke to say that he cannot even describe it. And yet, a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, himself a countryman of Edmund Burke, and whose wonderful eloquence moved the House of Representatives as I never saw it moved before, allowed himself, amid "laughter and applause on the Democratic side," to compare this amazing prosperity to a "prolonged debauch," from which the country could rescue itself only by the free use of the committee's dilution of the original beverage. It seems, almost a desecration to put the facts over against the figure of speech.

"Phenomenal Prosperity."

Here is a little book of letters of an editor, Mr. Carr, of the *Cardiff Mail*, to his wife. It is full of expressions of surprise over this "wonderful country," "phenomenal prosperity," "extent and strength of the enormous interests created by the American policy of protection."

Only last November, Mr. W. H. Mitchell, an English lecturer, fresh from a three months' visit to our country, addressed the Textile Society of Bradford, England. He was here in the interest of trade. Hence what he had to say smacks of trade.

The importance [says he] of America as a trade outlet was very obvious. It had 65,000,000 people who spent more money on dress than any other people on the face of the earth. Again, in

THOMAS B REED,
Speaker of the House.

spite of the wonderful development which has taken place, the possibilities, he might say the certainties, of future progress were marvelously illimitable.

"Marvelously Illimitable."

These were his very words. How the mouths of the Textile Society of Bradford must have watered as he detailed to them the hopes he had that such fruitage would be lifted to their very lips. But of that, by and by.

Without further quotation, unnecessary for this audience, for whom all that a foreigner can say is but a reminder, it only remains to ask if all this prosperity has been at the expense of the laboring man, of those who furnish service, whether of brain or muscle. If it has been at their expense, for one, I say, Down with it. The lowest depths of the Wilson Bill are not half low enough for such a civilization.

That, however, can hardly be so, from the testimony itself. "Sixty-five millions of people, who spend more money on dress than any other people" on earth, and whose "certainties" of progress in that direction are "marvelously illimitable," have evidently not been sacrificed to the Moloch of accumulated wealth.

Editor Carr, already quoted, says this country "is the paradise of the workingman." All the bigotry of free trade cannot wipe that out.

"The Richest Country in the World."

The further my inquiries extend [says he], the

more convinced I become that the real truth of the matter is, that in this country a workman earns twice as much as he would in England, and the cost of his living, except in the matter of rent and clothing, is about the same. Even in the matter of clothing the difference is not great, except as it is brought about by the general use of much better clothing.

Says Mr. Francis Walker in substance, for I quote only from memory, and from a newspaper at that, "If the workman of America would be content with the meager life beyond seas he could save two-thirds of his entire wages."

The accuracy of the figures of the Aldrich report, which comes to me with the approval of the distinguished Secretary of the Treasury, and which emanates from a Democratic Bureau of Statistics, has never been impugned; and it shows that never in the history of human civilization have wages been so high, measured by gold.

Lest there should be any doubt as to the application of all this to our own workingmen, I cite again:

Through long strikes and suffering and woe, labor has improved its condition in this country until by the figures of this Aldrich committee, we find that it enjoys to-day the largest proportion of that which it produces that it has ever enjoyed in the history of the world.

"A Paradise for Laboring Men."

We may safely assume, then, that a country which has become in the last thirty years the "richest

country in the world," to quote Mr. Jeans again, a country which during all that period was a "paradise for laboring men," does not need to try any dubious experiments. A good thing in this world of disappointments is not to be lightly left. A better thing we should desert with still more reluctance, and nobody but a misguided man would leave the best thing ever known in the history of the universe, unless he had such a glimpse of the future as would place him securely among the prophets and not land him among those unhappy martyrs whose blood is the seed of no church.

What are the reasons why any change of principle should be had?

Of course, we are not to change the history of the last thirty years and the principles of a hundred years because some gentlemen specially gifted with sonorous voices have distributed epithets. We are not going to risk our all upon fragments of ancient platform speeches, upon loud outcries and abusive language.

Solid Arguments.

There must be addressed to us some solid arguments, or at least the opinions of wise men who have proved their wisdom by the actual test of human life. Surely we are not going to venture into the unknown because political economists bid us do so, while they still leave unproved every principle upon which they found their advice. So long as they cannot agree among themselves on any of their propositions, they cannot be cited as a body to force our conclusions.

On no trackless future will we venture unless the prospect of increased happiness is large enough to justify risk and exposure.

Is there any example in the history of the world of any nation situated like ours who has taken the step to which we are invited?

Some gentlemen, perhaps, are hastening to say that England affords us the needed example; that we have but to turn to her history and find all that we need by way of examples, just as in the statements of her political economists we shall find all that is necessary for advice, for guidance and instruction. I have looked there, and I am amazed to find how little the example of England can teach.

What Can the Example of England Teach?

According to the usual story that is told, England had been engaged in a long and vain struggle with the demon of protection, and had been year after year sinking further into the depths, until, at a moment when she was in her deepest distress and saddest plight, her manufacturing system broken down, "protection having destroyed home trade by reducing," as Mr. Atkinson says, "the entire population to beggary, destitution, and want," Mr. Cobden and his friends providentially appeared, and, after a hard struggle, established a principle for all time and for all the world, and straightway England enjoyed the sum of human happiness. Hence all good nations should do as England has done and be happy ever after.

This fairy tale has not the slightest resemblance to

history. England, after three centuries of stationary life, during which the wages of its laborers remained without change, at the beginning of this century began to feel the pulses of a new life. Wages then commenced to rise, and in 1840 were 80 per cent. higher in money than in 1800, and, measured by purchasing power, were 90 per cent. higher than ever before. Coming, as this did, right after three centuries of stagnation, it showed the great power of two things, protection and the establishment of the factory system. For England was enormously protected, not only by duties such as we have, but by the laws which forbade the exportation of machinery, whereby she obtained or sought to obtain a monopoly of steam-driven methods.

England's Development.

It had so happened that England's development, owing to her insular position and her early efforts to obtain the results of skill which caused her to import Flemish weavers, to receive the Huguenots driven out of France, to welcome workers from everywhere, and in every way to encourage manufactures, had reached such a point that the invention of the steam engine was in her grasp and possible to her alone. Whoever has examined, even in the most cursory way, the history of the long line of inventions which culminated in the steam engine of James Watt, cannot fail to be satisfied that the condition of England at that period led to that line of invention, and that nothing else could. With the steam engine and the

factory system England could so utilize human labor that no nation in the world could compete with her, no matter what the wages were, until the invention passed her borders.

Unfortunately, England at that time and for years afterward had no conception of its duty to its workingmen. The only limit of work was human strength. It took the fiercest struggle to get slight remission of labor even for children. Shorter hours of labor were scorned not only by Cobden and Bright, but by every political economist of England, even down to 1883, when Bonamy Price denounced shorter hours of labor as a "repudiation of the great doctrine of free trade." The sole idea of the political economist of that class has always been as low wages as possible, as long hours as could be, and a product at as cheap a price as possible.

Raw Materials Scanty in England.

England also was a country where in the main the raw materials were scanty and few in number. Even the raw material of labor, wheat and other breadstuffs, could not be produced within her borders in sufficient amount for the consumption of her workers. Naturally enough her theory of low prices for labor prevented a reasonable division of the tremendous increase of production caused by the steam engine, and restricted her own market, and in 1840 she found herself in manufactures entirely ahead of her consumption. Her manufactures had grown out of proportion and could no longer subsist on English pat-

ronage alone. The workmen were pressing them for that regular increase of wages which I shall by and by show to be the natural progress of civilization, and therefore manufacturers commenced their agitation against the corn laws which resulted in their repeal.

Was that crusade the same as is waged here to-day? Not the least in the world. That was a fight by the manufacturers. This is a fight against the manufacturers. The manufacturers then desired no protection whatever. Turn over this big volume of Cobden's Speeches until you come to the twentieth speech, seven years after he began; you will find hardly one allusion to protective duties to manufacturers, and even in the twentieth speech they are only alluded to to reiterate the declaration made in 1838, when the Corn Law League began, that all duties were to be abolished so as to make food cheaper. What Cobden was fighting was an odious law enacted to enhance the price of bread, not for the benefit of the farmer, but of the aristocratic owner of land. Workingmen were clamoring for increase of pay. The manufacturers knew that decrease of the price of wheat was the equivalent of higher pay. Men do not work for money; they work for money's worth.

The Workings of the Corn Law.

I have said that the corn law was an odious law. It was more than that. In its workings it deprived the poor of food and put the enhanced price into the

pockets of those who toiled not nor spun. Had that enhanced price gone to the farmers and farm laborers, it might have been defended to-day on the ground that it was a fair means of distribution among the farmers of their share of the wonderful gains of the earlier manufacturing. But as it was, no more unjust law was ever attacked. Meantime what was the attitude of the manufacturers as to their own protective duties? Why, by the aid of these protective duties and the inventions they led to, they had grown so powerful, had machinery so superior, and the factory system so firmly established, they could hold their own markets, beyond clamor or dispute, with duties or without. No nation with capital as great and machinery as useful and productive, and wages of skilled workmen lower by more than one-third, hung threatening over her border. Her machinery was so superior that even the low wages of other countries could not affect her.

Not only were these manufacturers in condition to permit the duties to be taken off, but they knew it themselves. Not only did they know it, but they avowed it; not in a corner, but to Parliament itself.

I have here *Hansard* for February 8, 1842 (volume 60, page 133), where the Marquis of Lansdowne presents the petition of the woolen manufacturers of England, asking that all duties be abolished, including their own, but especially the corn laws. On page 137, of the same volume, Lord Brougham declared that prior to that time he had "laid upon the table a petition from persons authorized by all the great

JAMES G BLAINE

manufacturing bodies of the Kingdom. They prayed for the repeal of every duty levied under the pretense of protection." I am using the very language of Lord Brougham. This, then, was a fight made by the manufacturers for the manufacturers against the aristocratic land-owners over the question of cheap food in an island that could not produce a supply for its workingmen.

"As Wages Fall, Profits Rise."

The men who made the fight were not philanthropists or saints. They were good, honest, selfish men, struggling for their own interests and never lost sight of them. Down to their latest day they resisted lesser hours of labor, and were deaf to all improvements which led to the elevation of the working classes. They held firmly to the doctrine that "as wages fall, profits rise."

To sum this all up, England, when she became free trade, was a workshop wherein was manufactured the raw material of the rest of the world. Of raw material she herself had none. Her coal and iron and the invention of the steam engine had developed her manufactures so out of proportion to the wages of the workmen that she must have a larger market. At that time the only idea of a larger market was one that had more consumers. The notion that the market could be enlarged by those who were already consumers had not entered into the popular thought, yet her workmen were clamoring for more pay. Tariff had really ceased to be a pro-

tection except on corn, and not on that in any true protective sense. It was only a tax like that on sugar. It made food dear. Repeal of the corn laws meant an increase of real wages. Repeal of tariff on manufactures meant nothing. The whole crusade of 1840 was for free food, and Cobden nowhere says anything else. Protection in our modern sense, is never mentioned in any one of his free-trade speeches.

After this review of the story of England's change, will any man dare to say that he finds therein any justification for the deed of violence which is called the Wilson Bill?

Suppose England, instead of being a little island in the sea, had been the half of a great continent full of raw material, capable of an internal commerce which would rival the commerce of all the rest of the world.

Suppose every year new millions were flocking to her shores, and every one of those new millions in a few years, as soon as they tasted the delights of a broader life, would become as great a consumer as any one of her own people.

Suppose that these millions and the 70,000,000 already gathered under the folds of her flag were every year demanding and receiving a higher wage and therefore broadening her market as fast as her machinery could furnish production. Suppose she had produced cheap food beyond all her wants, and that her laborers had spent so much money that whether wheat was ninety cents a bushel or twice that sum hardly entered the thoughts of one of them, except

when some Democratic tariff bill was paralyzing his business.

England Credited for Great Sense.

Suppose that she was not only but a cannon's shot from France, but that every country in Europe had been brought as near to her as Baltimore is to Washington, for that is what cheap ocean freights mean between us and the European producers. Suppose all those countries had her machinery, her skilled workmen, her industrial system, and labor forty per cent. cheaper. Suppose under that state of facts, with all her manufacturers proclaiming against it, frantic in their disapproval, England had been called upon by Cobden to make the plunge into free trade, would she have done it? Not if Cobden had been backed by the angelic host. History gives England credit for great sense.

While our wiseacres are reading British books of forty years ago with the emotions of great discoverers, what do the English themselves say about the actual facts? They come here in shoals. Naturally they do not like our system; but for it they could do our manufacturing for us. Nevertheless, prejudiced and prepossessed as they are, they are startled into some incautious truths. Says Mr. Jeans, whom I have already quoted about the "amazing prosperity" of the United States:

It requires, I think, unusual temerity to allege that the tariff system of the United States has been a failure for that country.

"Unusual Temerity."

What a prejudiced English free trader regards as "unusual temerity," and which he might have called unexampled rashness, is exhibited by every gentleman who can recite Sidney Smith's discourse on the taxed Englishman under the impression that he is delivering an original speech. Mr. Carr, too, remarks the strange phenomena:

I am [says he] a convinced free trader. Protection is to me an economical heresy, the fraud and folly of which [how like one of our own dear Southern Statesmen he sounds] the fraud and folly of which are capable of mathematical demonstration. * * * And yet throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent, one is almost daily brought face to face with solid, indisputable facts that seem to give the lie to the soundest and most universally accepted axioms of political economy.

Yes, not only do "solid, indisputable facts seem to give the lie to the soundest and most universally accepted axioms of political economy," but they do give it, and so does the whole history of this country. If what he calls "the soundest and most universally accepted axioms" had been axioms at all, this country ought to have been permanently for thirty years in the situation which it is now in temporarily, after months of this free-trade nightmare. We ought to have been halting in every branch of manufactures; we ought to have stopped progress and faltered to the rear, for we were wasting both capital and labor in unprofitable employment.

Our workmen, penned up in our little country, while Englishmen reveled in the markets of the world, ought to be impoverished beyond all the experience of history. Instead of that the Aldrich report, which deserves the high encomium of the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN], "with the approval of the distinguished Secretary of the Treasury," even if it does "emanate from a Democratic Bureau of Statistics," shows that since 1860 money wages have risen 68 per cent. Or if you say, and you would be right in so saying, that wages should be measured by what they will buy, the result is still more striking.

A Striking Result.

The same report shows that, measured by prices of things bought, wages have risen, real wages, 79 per cent. By which I mean to say, that where our people in 1860 received a dollar, our people have now one dollar and sixty-eight cents and six mills in money, and a dollar and seventy-nine cents and one mill in consumable wealth. During the same period the hours of labor, by average in all the occupations calculated, have fallen from eleven to ten. If you count that and reckon the man's hour saved to be worth as much to him as it used to be to his employer—and it is—you have real wages raised 97 per cent. and you find the wage-earner to-day, after thirty-three years of protection, with $1.97, where in 1860 he had but a single dollar. The history of the world shows nothing like it. The Aldrich report declares that there exists no thorough digest of facts

relating to European wages, but if you will show me any figures of increase at all approximating what I have just described, in free-trade England, you will discover what my search has not been able to find.

With wages rising, prices of manufactured goods falling, with lessening hours of labor, what more do you want, except more of the same sort?

The Vital Question.

The truth is, that this very question of rising wages is what makes a good many men free traders. People with fixed incomes think that anything which raises wages is inimical to them. Manufacturers who have foreign markets are naturally anxious to have wages on the foreign standard, and when a great cocoa manufacturer in Boston and a great agricultural tool-maker in Philadelphia proclaim themselves on the side of free trade, we find in both cases a large foreign trade and along with it a desire for foreign wages for their workingmen.

I confess to you that this question of wages is to me the vital question. To insure our growth in civilization and wealth, we must not only have wages as high as they are now, but constantly and steadily increasing. This desire of mine for constantly increasing wages does not have its origin in love for the individual, but in love for the whole nation in that enlightened selfishness which recognizes the great truth that your fate and mine, and the fate of your descendants and mine, are so wrapped up in the fate of all others that whatever contributes to their

progress gives to us all a nobler future and a higher hope.

Influence of Wages.

I do not mean to use the word "contribute" as adequate to describe the influence of wages on human progress. That would be to belittle the subject. In my judgment, upon wages and the consequent distribution of consumable wealth are based all our hopes of the future and all the possible increase of our civilization. The progress of this nation is dependent upon the progress of all. This is no new thought with me. Our civilization is not the civilization of Rome, a civilization of nobles and slaves, but a civilization which tends to destroy distinction of classes and to lift all to a common and higher level.

There are some men in this world and in this nation who do not like that. When I talk about wages, I use the word in its broadest sense as the price and value of service, whether of brain or muscle. When I speak of constant and continuous increase of wages, I do not mean the caprices of benevolence or of charity, or the fantasy of a mind longing for the impossible.

Where Will the Increase Come From?

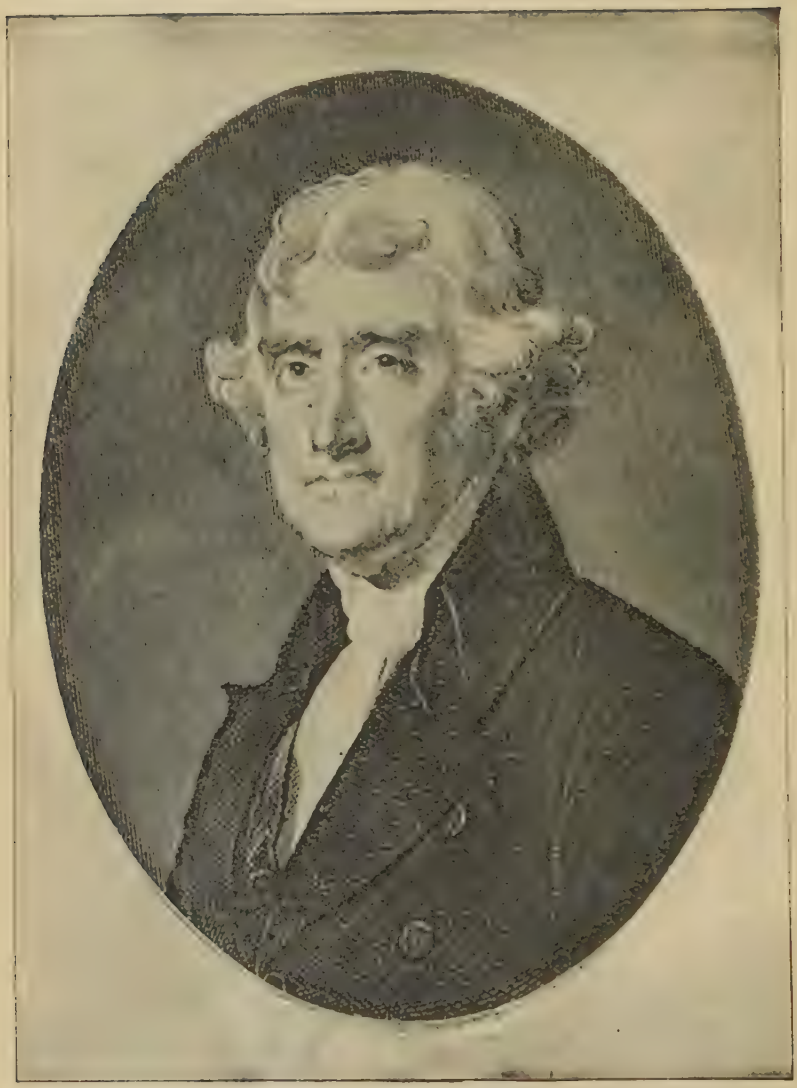
The increase of wages which the service-seller ought to have, and the only useful increase he can ever get, will be by the operation of natural laws working upon the opportunities which legislation may aid in furnishing. The increase will never come from the outside, will never be the gift of any em-

ployer. It must come from the improvement in the man himself. Can you get a carpenter or bricklayer to work for 25 cents a day? He did it in England in 1725. To-day in the United States it is a poor place where he can not get ten times that sum. Why does he have to have ten times as much? Because the carpenter of to-day could no more live as did the carpenter of 1725 than he could live in a cave and hunt snakes for food. The difference in wages means the difference in living, and the $2.50 is as much a necessity to-day as the 25 cents was a hundred and fifty years ago.

Man is not a mere muscular engine, to be fed with meat and give forth effort. Man is a social being. He must have whatever his neighbor has. He cannot grow unless he has. Every growth implies a larger consumption of consumable wealth, and by consumable wealth I mean whatever is made by man and contributes to his enjoyment, whether it be a loaf of bread, a novel, or a concert. The more a man wants of consumable wealth the more his wages are likely to be. But by wants I do not mean any wild longing for what is beyond reach, but such wants as are in sight and to supply which he has such longing as will make him work.

The Measure of Wages.

What is the rule and measure of wages? There has never been a subject on which so much ingenuity has been wasted and where the political economist has so befogged the world. He had a fund set apart



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

in his mind which he called the wage fund. Divide the wage fund by the number of service-sellers, having due regard to difference of service, and there it was, plain as mathematics. True, nobody could calculate the wage fund, nobody had ever seen it. It was in nobody's bookkeeping, but it was a comprehensive answer, and that was what he was after. Others of his disciples to-day dispose of it by the catchwords "supply" and "demand," and though the listener had acquired some words, he had acquired very little knowledge.

"Supply and Demand."

In thus speaking slightingly of "supply and demand," I do not mean to say that the relation between the worker and the work has no influence on wages. What I say is, that it in no sense solves the problem. Not long ago, in this very city, the builders, and material men, and the workers met together to see if, in response to oversupply compared with demand, concessions could be made. The material men were ready to yield, but the workmen, whose labor was the only perishable article involved, utterly refused. According to supply and demand they ought to have been hustling each other to see who could get into the job. Instead of that they are ready to struggle and to endure privations rather than give up what have become to them necessaries of life. No nation can endure in peace any cut which goes into the quick. Necessities born of social life and advancing civilization are the real measure of wages.

This question of wages is all-important as bearing upon the question of consumption. All production depends upon consumption. Who are the consumers? In the old days when the products of manufacturers were luxuries, the lord and his retainers, the lady and her maids were the consumers, a class apart by themselves; but to-day the consumers are the producers. Long ago the laborer consumed only what would keep him alive. To-day he and his wife and their children are so immeasurably the most valuable customers, that if the shop had to give up the wealthy or those whom it is the custom to call poor, there would not be a moment's hesitation or a moment's doubt.

Producers and Consumers.

Unfortunately our Democratic friends have persistently retained the old idea that the producers are one class and the consumers are another, and hence we hear on all hands such stupidities of speech as those which sum up the workers in each branch and compare them with the whole people. One hundred and fifty thousand workers in woolens—you ask, what are they compared with 70,000,000 of consumers; 200,000 workers in steel, what are they compared with 70,000,000 of consumers; 200,000 workers in cotton, what are they compared with 70,000,000 of consumers, and so on all through the long list, forgetting that all these people added together make the whole 70,000,000 themselves.

It so happens that America is filled with workers. There are idle people, but they are fewer here than

elsewhere—except now, when we are living under the Wilson Bill. If those workers are all getting good wages they are themselves the market, and if the wages are increasing the market is also increasing. The fact that in this country all the workers have been getting better wages than elsewhere is the very reason why our market is the best in the world and why all the nations of the world are trying to break into it. We do not appreciate the nature of our market ourselves.

Cold Mathematics.

I have given you already the glowing testimony of Englishmen who have seen us with their own eyes. "Amazing prosperity," "Greatest market in the world," "Paradise of the workingman." These are strong words; but let us see if cold mathematics do not put to shame the fervor of adjectives.

We are nominally 70,000,000 people. That is what we are in mere numbers. But as a market for manufactures and choice foods we are potentially 175,000,000 as compared with the next best nation on the globe. Nor is this difficult to prove. Whenever an Englishman earns one dollar, an American earns a dollar and sixty cents. I speak within bounds. Both can get the food that keeps body and soul together and the shelter which the body must have for sixty cents. Take sixty cents from a dollar and you have forty cents left. Take that same sixty cents from the dollar and sixty and you have a dollar left, just two and a half times as much. That surplus can be spent in choice foods, in house furnishings, in fine

clothes and all the comforts of life—in a word, in the products of our manufacturers. That makes our population, as consumers of products, as compared with the English population, 175,000,000. Their population is 37,000,000 as consumers of products which one century ago were pure luxuries, while our population is equivalent to 175,000,000.

If this is our comparison with England, what is the comparison with the rest of the world? Mullhall gives certain statistics which will serve to make the comparison clear. On page 365 of his Dictionary of Statistics he says the total yearly products of the manufactures of the world are £4,474,000,000, of which the United States produces £1,443,000,000.

I do not vouch, nor can anybody vouch for these figures, but the proportion of one-third to two-thirds nobody can fairly dispute. We produce one-third, and the rest of the world, England included, two-thirds.

More Figures.

The population of the world is 1,500,000,000, of which we have 70,000,000, which leaves 1,430,000,000 for the rest of mankind. We use all our manufactures, or the equivalent of them. Hence we are equal to one-half the whole globe outside of ourselves, England included, and compared as a market with the rest of the world, our population is equal to about 700,000,000.

I repeat, as compared with England herself as a market, our people are equivalent to 175,000,000. As compared with the rest of the world, England in-

cluded, we are equal as a market to 700,000,000. These figures more than justify the adjectives of the Englishman, and the cold facts of mathematics surpass the spasms of rhetoric.

Instead of increasing this market by leaving it to the steady increase of wages which the figures of the Aldrich report so conclusively show, and which have not only received the sanction of the member from New York, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Democratic Bureau of Statistics, but the sanction of Congress, it is proposed to lower wages and so lessen the market and then divide that market with somebody else, and all on the chance of getting the markets of the world.

Who Have the Markets of the World?

Who have these markets of the world now? There is hardly a spot on the globe where three generations of Englishmen, Frenchmen or Germans have not been camped in possession of every avenue of trade. Do you suppose that with machinery nearly as good as ours and wages at one-half, these men are going to surrender to us the markets of the world? Why, the very duties you keep on show that you do not believe it. If we can not without duties hold our own markets, how shall we pay freight, the expense of introducing goods, and meet the foreigner where he lives?

To add to the interesting impossibilities of this contention, the orators on the other side say they are going to maintain wages. How can that be possible?

All things sell at the cost of production. If the difference between cost of production here and cost of production in England be not equalized by the duty, then our cost of production must go down, or we must go out. Therefore, our labor, the great component part of cost of production, must go down also. If you say this will come out of profits, then profits will be lessened in every occupation, for your own political economists teach you that the profits in protected industries can never be greater than in other occupations, and will not long consent to be less. Let it be noised abroad that any occupation is making big profits and straightway it will be swamped with competitors, so that overprofit is the sure precursor of no profits at all.

"Survival of the Superior."

But all these questions of wages are to be met, says the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN], by our superior civilization, and he accuses me of confessing that civilization at the highest level is incapable of meeting the competition of civilization at its lowest level.

Now, it is a great truth that civilization can successfully meet barbarism, but it must do it with brains and not with rhetoric. How often have I heard this and similar eloquent outbursts about our superiority, and therefore inevitable conquest of the interior. Survival of the superior! That is not the way that the great naturalist put it. "Survival of the fittest" was his expression; survival of the fittest to survive; not the superior, not the loveliest, not the

most intellectual, but the one who fitted best into the surroundings. Compare the strong bull of Bashan with a salt-water smelt. Who doubts the superiority of the bull? Yet, if you drop them both into the Atlantic Ocean, I will take my chances with the smelt. A little tomtit, insignificant as a bit of dust in the balance, can not compare with the domestic swan either in grace, beauty or power. Yet, if both were dropped from a balloon hung high in air, I would rather be the insignificant tomtit than the graceful swan. If I had a job to dig on the railway, the competitor for that job whom I should fear would not be my friend from New York [Mr. COCKRAN], but some child of sunny Italy, so newly imported that he had not grown up to the wages of this adopted country.

Broader Illustrations.

But let us make these illustrations a little broader and take in a bit of history. Shortly after I entered Congress one Dennis Kearney began on the sand lots to address the world on the Chinese. He said these people were of a lower civilization; in fact, to use the very expression of the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN], he said it was "civilization at its lowest level." Indeed, to be strictly accurate, he used stronger expression. He denounced the Chinese, and instead of relying on superior civilization, on the flag of freedom in the air above us, the emblem of freedom on the earth beneath us, he actually wanted protection by law, and in spite of the jeers

and flouts of us in the East he has got it at last and with our consent.

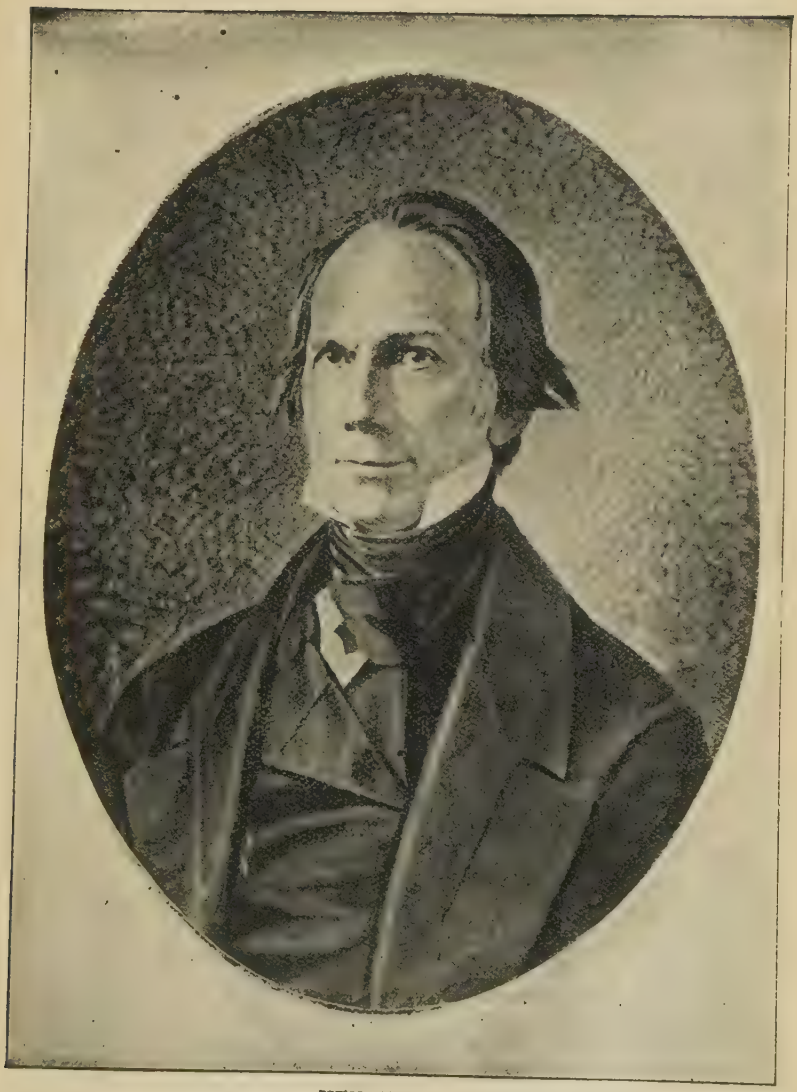
I know that when the gentleman learns these facts he will be so sorry that he was not here to tell these misguided men that, having seized the lightnings and beat the miracles of Moses without being guilty of his mistakes, we must be able to beat the Chinese without law because of their lower level of civilization. What Mr. Kearney would have said to the gentleman from New York I do not dare to record.

The Chinaman Must Keep Out.

Why did the working people of California object to the Chinese? Because they knew that if they swarmed here in sufficient numbers the law of wages would make our own wages impossible. Had the Chinese had the same wants, and been therefore forced to demand the same wages, they could have worshiped their ancestors here without let or hindrance. It was just because the higher civilization could not contend on a free field with the lower that the higher civilization had to put brains into the scale and protect itself. If then we protect ourselves against Chinese labor here, why should we not protect ourselves from a lower level of labor as represented by imported goods? Lower-priced labor can compete with our labor, whether it take the form of goods or of imported Chinamen.

"Labor is on the Free List."

But, says some gentleman, having heard some



HENRY CLAY.

other gentleman say it, and having been struck by its epigrammatic point—but "labor is on the free list." Well, that sounds conclusive, does it not? Yet what utter nonsense it really is when you come to look at it. Does the Englishman, when he comes here, bring his rate of wages with him? I should like to see any immigrant who has been here long enough to know his bearings who does not demand as good wages as the rest. That is what they come here for.

Why did we forbid the importation of contract labor? Because the price of it was tainted by the wage scales of a land on a lower level of wages.

Let me restate this: Men in America demand high and higher wages because their surroundings erect what used to be luxuries into necessities. Men who come here are soon affected by these same surroundings and are soon under the same necessities. But Chinamen, because they sequester themselves from these surroundings, and bales of goods, because they cannot have the labor in them subjected to our influences, ought to be under the restriction of law. I do not mean to make the comparison go on all fours and have the goods prohibited like the Chinese. I only meant to convey an idea.

But is it not a dreadful business to tax people? Not necessarily. Taxes raised for a good purpose—like a schoolhouse, a road, an army, for payment of pensions, for the public debt, and indeed for all the purposes of a free people—are not only not bad, but very good. Taxes to build a palace for the king's mistress or to place a barbarian queen on a deserted

throne would be dreadful; but we are not likely, owing to a series of fortunate accidents, to be called upon to do even the last.

But can you accomplish anything but oppression by taxes? Oh, yes; the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HATCH] will tell you that taxation has regulated oleomargarine and can regulate stock sales. At least, so he thinks. It has destroyed wildcat banks.

Constitutionality of Tariff Taxation.

On the question of the constitutionality of tariff taxation I shall spend no time. I have not been in Congress as long as I have without learning that "constitutionality" and "unconstitutionality" on the other side of the Chamber are mere phrases, and that when a gentleman of the other side, with swelling voice, denounces the tariff as unconstitutional, he merely means that he does not like it.

Inasmuch as nobody in a hundred years has even asked the Supreme Court to pass on that question, it seems hardly worth while to discuss it. If the Father of his Country, fresh from the convention, in signing the first tariff-tax bill, signed an unconstitutional act, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. TURNER] and the whole Democratic party are better than George Washington—a thing not hitherto charged upon them.

Who Pays the Tax?

But do not the people pay the tariff taxes, and do they not go into the pockets of monopolists? Do you believe the consumer pays the tax, or the for-

eigner? Well, I am going to be perfectly frank about that, and answer, sometimes one and sometimes the other, and sometimes both. The first thing a foreigner does when a tariff tax is laid, is to see if he can get into our market without paying anything. If so, then he will not reduce his prices. If he cannot, he looks over his margin of profit and sees if he can, by abating some part of these profits, get his goods in. So far as he does abate them he pays the tax. So far as he does not, the rest of the tax is paid by the consumer.

If the foreigner pays all the tax, then within the limit where his goods can circulate there may be protection or there may not. If, after paying the whole tax, he still has a margin of profit to sacrifice in the industrial war, there will be no protection, or very limited protection. But if there be only a slight margin which he cannot sacrifice without rendering the market worthless, then there will be competition the same as if he manufactured here. In the latter case he at least cannot shut up our factories.

In these cases the prices will not be raised. But where the consumer pays any part of the tax, by so much is the price raised. This is the general rule, but often it does not work so. After the act of 1890 large importations in anticipation of large profits, anticipations frustrated by the Baring failure panic, made great changes in the case. Many prices did not rise at all, and yet manufacturers, knowing that there would be a certainty at least that they could not be badly undersold, began work.

It often happens that men will begin manufacturing under a tariff that does not raise prices because they know that such a tariff will prevent them from going down.

A Fighting Chance.

It is not enough to have goods in the natural market at a price which will bring a profit. The manufacturer must know that the industrial enemy cannot force the price below the range of profit. Then, without any increase, he may put up a plant. This operation of a tariff which does not raise the price is because industrial warfare sometimes assumes this shape. A rival maker may sacrifice his goods in order to sacrifice another man's factory, or to prevent the establishment of a competitor. If there be a tariff, then, which will not raise prices, but which will maintain them, then the native manufacturer's risk in building a factory is limited. He may be put to hard struggle, but he cannot be beaten out of hand. He will have a fighting chance.

There are, however, so many instances where the foreigner pays the tax that there is no wonder that the assertion has been made broadcast. The Bermuda vegetable men appeared before this very committee to urge this very fact. Canada, both under the present law and just after the repeal of the reciprocity act, is a multitudinous witness all along our borders that the foreigner pays the tax. I venture to say that the lumber tax, lowered by the act of 1890, has all of it gone out of our Treasury into Canadian pockets.

It would be an interesting chapter in economic history if we could have in figures the abatement of foreign prices which has followed every increase of the tariff, for it would show what enormous profits have been made out of us by these people when no protection existed.

Having thus shown that even where tariff taxes are paid by the foreigner and the price not raised there may be some protection, let us face the question whether, where the price is raised and the consumer pays the whole tax or a part of it, there is any benefit to our country thereby. Does not the public suffer for the benefit of the few? Not for the benefit of the capitalist, for in the long run your own political economy will show you that protected industries will not obtain any greater remuneration than the unprotected. The same is all they ask for and more than they often get.

Statistics in Massachusetts.

In Massachusetts they have statistics so well collected that they mean something, and those statistics show that Massachusetts' manufacturing stocks pay 3.87 per cent., Boston bank stocks 4.53 per cent., and in New England Railroad stocks 4.29 per cent.

Let me put the assertion in another form. If you will give me all that capital has made on railroads, an unprotected industry, I will give you all that capital has made on factories, and agree to feed the hungry crowds caused by the Wilson Bill and not claim any virtue for my charity.

The public again do not suffer for the sake of the employees of the protected industries, for they get no higher wages than the unprotected. In fact the increase goes to one as much as the other. Who built the mills at Fall River? Who made the machinery? Who furnished the provisions and other consumable wealth which Fall River and its mills demand? The answer must be, the whole United States. "But," says my questioner, "if you only distribute among all of us, who paid it, this money which was taken from us for the extra price, what is the good?" If that were all there was to it, I could still answer that at least there was no loss. But beyond a question this system establishes diversified industries. Nobody can doubt that. Diversified industries call out all the working powers of the world. Some men are fitted for one thing, some for another.

Diversification of Industries.

The only way to utilize all the powers of body and mind in a nation is to have something which suits all. By this means the great army of the unemployed can be diminished. A nation which keeps its people employed is in the end sure to show the largest gains even of wealth. Diversified industries educate the people and give them a broader education than books can give, and so help them on the road to greater civilization. We have already seen that greater civilization leads to higher wages, to greater production. In a country of high wages there are greater inducements for inventors, for they

can save more by their inventions, which are therefore more readily adopted.

We were talking awhile ago about higher wages. The question naturally comes up, how can these higher wages be got? There must be something for them to come from. Just think a moment what wages are. They are the devourers of consumable wealth. In order to have more consumable wealth you must have an incentive for its creation. Wealth will never be made unless a consumer stands ready. More consumable wealth, therefore, depends upon a broadening market. This I have already shown does not mean more purchasers, but purchasers with better purses, though for that matter in this country we have both.

But how can you make more wealth with the same number of workers? By using the forces of nature and by utilizing human brains. How can you do that? By incentives. The brain no more works without incentive than the body does.

Invention Born of Necessity.

To hear the discussion in Congress you would suppose that invention dropped from heaven like manna to the Jews. You would suppose that James Watt reached out into the darkness and pulled back a steam engine. It was not so. All invention is the product of necessities and of pressure. When the boy who wanted to go off to play, and so rigged the stopcocks that the engine went itself, he was not only a true inventor, but he had the same motive—his

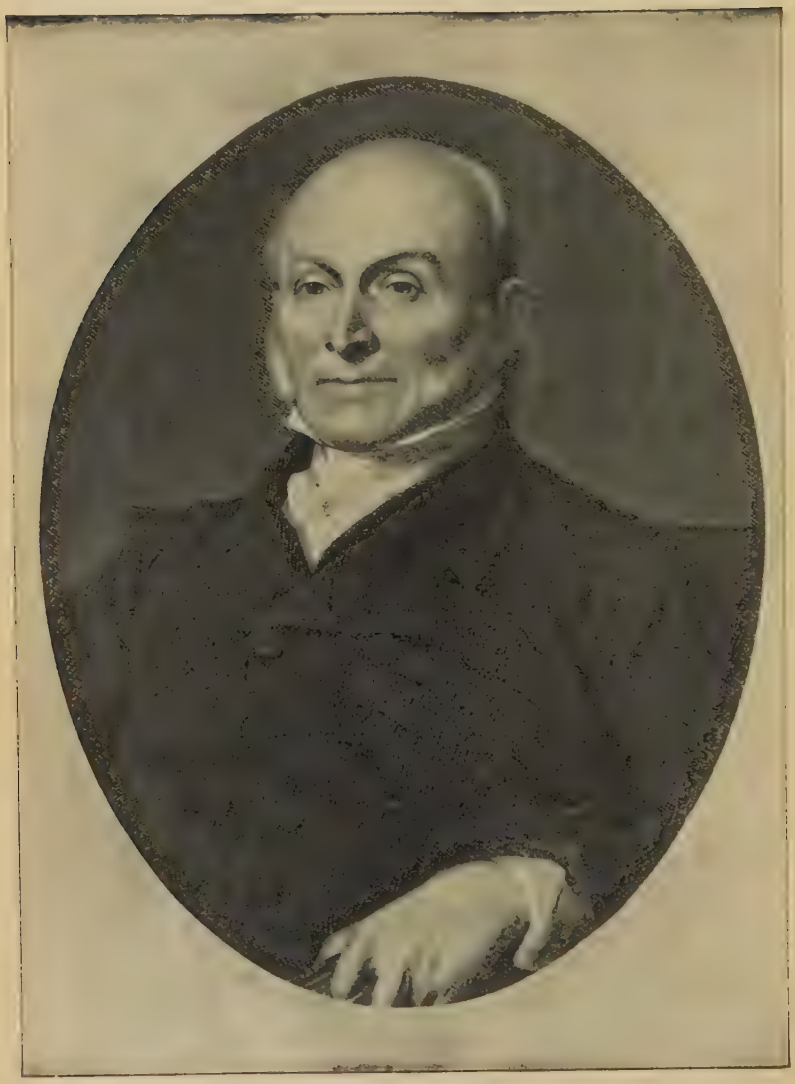
personal advantage—that all inventors have, and like them was urged on by business necessities.

What originated Bessemer steel? Sir Henry Bessemer? No; but the necessities of railroads, under public pressure for lower rates of traffic, which would, every one of them, have been bankrupt without steel rails. If Sir Henry had not invented the process somebody else would. It detracts not one iota from the fame of Alexander Bell that a dozen men were close on his track. It has been so in every great invention. I say, therefore, that it was the diversification of our industries that has stimulated inventions. Otherwise all the inventive power of America would have run to waste; and when a man calculates the wonders of American inventive genius he knows where some of our wealth comes from.

As a further proof that invention is born of necessity, tell me why great inventions never come until the world is in such shape as to enjoy them? What would the Crusaders have done with railroads? There was not money enough in the world, travel or merchandise to keep them going a week.

Another Fact.

And this brings to me another fact. No invention is worth its salt which does not have increased consumption behind it. Take the very case of the railroads; are railroads economical? "Certainly," you reply. "They can carry passengers for half a cent a mile, for a quarter of a cent, and a New York hack



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

will cost you $2, and even a lumbering coach may cost you 10 cents. Of course it is economical." But suppose you had only a stage-load to carry every day, would it pay you to build a railroad, and would that conveyance be cheap? Hardly. You can make an ax handle with a machine in two seconds; without, in three hours. It would pay to build a machine to make a million of ax handles, but not to make one.

Large Consumption at the Basis.

Therefore I say that the great forces of nature and the wisest inventions are alike unprofitable except for a large consumption. Hence, large consumption is at the basis of saving in manufacture, and hence high wages contribute their share to progress. If you once accept the idea that necessity is mother of invention, instead of regarding invention as coming from heaven knows where, you can see how high wages stimulate it.

I saw at a machine-shop not long ago a great machine which could work only in one direction, and naturally consumed, in going back to place, as much time as in coming forward. It took three men at $3 a day to run it. Half their time was lost. Could the speed of the return have been doubled, more than $2 a day would have been saved. That invention was made because, being applicable to many machines, it meant much money, Had they been worked by men who were paid 50 cents a day, it is doubtful if it would have been demanded. Where wages are low, invention is rare. It does not pay.

The Hope of Agriculturists.

But what do you say about the farmer? Well, on that subject I do not profess any special learning, but there is one simple statement I wish to make and leave the question there.

If, with cities growing up like magic, manufacturing villages dotting every eligible site, each and all swarming with mouths to be filled, the producers of food are worse off than when half this country was a desert, I abandon sense in favor of political economy.

If the hope of agriculturists is in English free trade, they had better ponder on the fact that while the wages of artisans have increased in England $2.43 per week since 1850, the wages of agricultural laborers have only increased 72 cents, and while the Lancashire operatives in the factories live as well as anybody except Americans, the agricultural laborers are hardly better off than the continental peasantry. England's example will do for agriculture.

Here let me meet one other question, and let me meet it fairly. We are charged with having claimed that the tariff alone will raise wages, and we are pointed triumphantly to the fact that the wages of France and Germany, protected by a tariff, are lower than England, free of all tariff, and to America with a tariff and still higher wages. We have never made such a claim in any such form. Free traders have set up that claim for us in order to triumphantly knock it over. What we do say is, that where two nations have equal skill and equal appliances and a

market of nearly equal size, and one of them can hire labor at one-half less, nothing but a tariff can maintain the higher wages, and that we can prove.

Cheaper Labor.

If there be two bales of goods side by side, made by the same kind of machinery and with the labor of the human being in both of the same degree of skill, and if the labor of one bale cost one-half, for example, as much as the other, that other bale can never be sold until the extra cost of the costlier labor is squeezed out of it, provided there is an abundant supply of the product of the cheaper labor. If the bale with the cheaper labor of England in it meets the bale with the dearer labor of America in it, which will be bought at the cost of production? I leave that problem just there. The sale of the English bale will be only limited by England's production.

Now as to France and Germany. England had centuries of peace or distant war, while both France and Germany were the battlefields of Europe. Until Bismarck made Germany a nation she was not even big enough to enter successfully modern industrial warfare. To compare either of those nations in machinery or wealth to England, a hundred years in advance of them both by reason of her history before 1850 and her tributary provinces, is absolutely farcical.

Let Germany and France get thoroughly established within themselves as good machinery as England now has, together with her factory system, and

nothing but higher wages in those countries or a tariff in their own will ever save the English people from ruin. Lord Armstrong knew what he was doing when he established an English iron manufactory in Italy with English appliances and Italian labor at half price.

No, no; tariff does not make the blind see, the lame walk, nor does it raise the dead to life, but it is a good, sound, sensible policy for the United States for its growth in riches and civilization, and if it is stricken down, the people who in their secret hearts will think us the most shortsighted will be the foreigners who profit by our folly.

What Has Made England Rich?

There is still another argument which I desire to present out of the large number yet unused. What has made England rich? It is the immense profits which come of converting raw material into manufactured goods. She is the huge workshop, doing the most profitable work of the world; changing material to finished product. So long as she can persuade the rest of the world to engage in the work which is the least profitable and leave her the most enriching, she can well be content.

Let me give one item, and the figures shall be furnished by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. WHEELER], who told me in your presence that the value of all the cotton raised in the United States was only $300,000,000, while the finished product of that cotton was $1,750,000,000. When cotton leaves

the field it is worth $300,000,000; when it leaves the mill it is worth six times as much. On our own cotton crop alone we might in time make the profits on a billion and a half of manufactured goods. Nor is there anything to prevent such a result in a protective tariff.

Some men think, indeed, this bill and its author's speeches proceed upon the supposition that the first step towards gaining the markets of the world is to give up our own, just as if a forfeited army, with enemies on all flanks, should overturn its own breast-works as the first-preliminary to a march into the open. Even the foolish chivalry of the Marquis de Montcalm which led him to his death on the Heights of Abraham had not that crowning folly. Such is not the history of the world; such is not even the example of England. Tariff duties, whether levied for that purpose or for revenue, become a dead letter when we are able to compete with the outside world.

We are the only rival that England fears, for we alone have in our borders the population and the wages, the raw material, and within ourselves the great market which insures to us the most improved machinery. Our constant power to increase our wages insures us also continuous progress. If you wish us to follow the example of England, I say yes, with all my heart; but her real example and nothing less. Let us keep protection, as she did, until no rival dares to invade our territory, and then we may take our chances for a future which by that time will not be unknown.

Nobody knows so well as I do how much even of my own comprehension of the great argument which should decide this question I have failed to present. I have said not a word of the great fall of prices which has always come from the competition of the whole world within itself rendered possible by protection and substituted for the competition within a single island. I have said not a word of the great difference between the attitude of employers who find their own workmen their best customers in their own land, and who are, therefore, moved by their own best interests to give their workmen fair wages, and those who sell abroad and are therefore anxious for low wages at home, and on whom works, unrestrictedly, that pernicious doctrine, as wages fall, profits rise. These and much more have I omitted.

SILK WINDING.

(Fac-simile of a picture in Edward Williams's "Virginia Truly Valued," 1650.)

A Tariff for Revenue.

BY HON. WM. L. WILSON,

Author of the "Wilson Bill."

THE gentleman from Maine, Mr. Reed, has endeavored to take up the stock arguments of protection and sickly them over with a pale cast of philosophy. But, after all, his main argument is that which is heard on every platform in the country, that because we have had protection in the United States for the last thirty years, we have drawn all our prosperity, our national greatness, our individual and social advancement from a law of Congress, and not from the character and enterprise of our people, the resources of our country, the freedom of our institutions, and the blessing of Almighty God.

Human Progress Cannot Be Impeded.

The gentleman from Maine will not go farther than I will in singing the praises of our common country. He will not glory more than I will in every forward step that it takes in prosperity, in freedom, in greatness, and in moral stature; but I must remind him that we have grown great and prosperous, that we have increased in numbers and wealth, not because of protection, but because no law of Congress can stand in the pathway of human progress. You may frame

your McKinley bills, and human progress will trample them under its feet. You can not deaden science, and banish art, and drive out invention, and destroy enterprise, and prevent every man in this great, free country from seeking, in all possible ways, to better his condition, and to advance his own personal welfare; and out of this effort of all men to advance, out of this constant and persistent struggle of every individual to rise in the scale of civilization, to improve his own condition, and to gather to himself more of the comforts and possessions of life, comes that glorious progress that no law of Congress can impede, and no McKinley bills or other bills can seriously thwart or affect.

What the Laws Have Done.

But I will tell you what your laws can do and what your laws have done. You can not prevent the accumulation of wealth in such a land as this, but you can reach out the strong arm of government and take that wealth from the man who made it and bestow it upon the man who did not make it. You can not deal out prosperity to all the people, but you can deal out wealth to a part of them, and poverty to all the rest.

In his 7th of March speech, in 1850, Daniel Webster declared that five-sixths of the property of the North belonged to the workingmen of the North.

Can any Representative of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts make such a boast to-day? Gentlemen upon the other side, and notably the gentleman

WILLIAM L. WILSON.
Author of "Wilson Bill."

from Maine, have justified the protective system on the ground that it makes equal and extensive distribution of its benefits.

A Lesson in the Last Census.

There is a lesson in the last census that calls upon every citizen to pause and ponder whether it be a sign of growing prosperity, or a sign of growing and dangerous decadence. It appears by that census that of all the men occupying farms in this country, one-third are tenants who live on farms owned by others. It appears by that census that of all the people occupying homes other than farms in this country, two-thirds live in rented homes. If that is a sign of general prosperity, if that is a proof of diffused welfare, then the protective system is entitled to the credit of it, because it is, in a large share, I believe, due to that system.

If great reforms could be pierced and destroyed by shafts of ridicule, if great causes could be laughed off the field, we to-day would be slaves of England instead of being free, self-governing citizens. The clowns who in England, under Oliver Cromwell, saved representative government, and transmitted it to us as a heritage, were the objects of unending sarcasm, jeers and ridicule to the pampered courtiers of the Stuarts. The Virginia riflemen who met in my own county in their hunting shirts, and from the right bank of the Potomac marched, one hundred strong, under an ignorant wagoner, Daniel Morgan, to the relief of Boston, cut but a sorry figure by the

side of the splendid troops that held that city. Men are not judged by the clumsiness of their movements or by their ability to make the best presentation of their cause. They are ennobled by that for which they fight; and the tattered Continentals of Washington and the huntsmen of Daniel Morgan may have been rustic in dress and awkward in their manœuvers, but they bore upon their standards the freedom we now enjoy.

The Goal of Perfect Freedom.

This is a very old world, but long before human history began to be written, the fatal secret was disclosed that there is no easier, no quicker, no more abundant way of gathering wealth and gathering power, than by exercising the privilege of taxing the masses of the people. That secret disclosed, and eagerly seized upon before the dawn of human history, is yet the dominant force in all the world. It is but two hundred years since men were willing to fight for the idea that governments are made for the governed and not for the exclusive benefit of those who govern, and not yet in all the world is there a single nation whose government is administered exclusively and evenly in the interest of all the governed. That is the goal of perfect freedom. That is the achievement of perfect equality. That is the goal toward which the Democratic party is courageously and honestly moving in this struggle for tariff reform. Whenever that party, and whenever the members of it are able to cut loose from

local or selfish interest and keep the general welfare alone in their eyes, we shall attain our full freedom, and bring to the people of this country blessings that no other people in the world have ever enjoyed.

When Sir Robert Peel was just entering upon his work of tariff reform in England, he read to the House of Commons a letter that had been sent him by a canny Scotch fisherman. The writer protested against lowering the duties on herrings, for fear, as he said, that the Norwegian fisherman might undersell him, but he assured Sir Robert, in closing the letter, that in every respect except herrings he was a thoroughgoing free trader. I trust that no Democrat to-day will be thinking more about his herrings than the cause of the people. I trust that no man's particular herrings will come up to-day and stand between him and the honest, enthusiastic performance of his duty, and his whole duty, to the American people.

Two Arguments.

I have said that I do not feel called upon to consider the well-worn arguments which have proceeded from the other side. I should like to take up two arguments which seem to have found some lodgment among our own friends. The first is, that this reform will create a deficit, and, therefore, ought not to pass. In the name of common sense, how can you ever pass a tariff-reform bill if you do not reduce the taxation imposed by the law that you seek to reform. And could not protectionists thwart and forever prevent any movement toward tariff-reform by ex-

travagant expenditures and other means of keeping down the revenue to the expenses of the government? Have gentlemen forgotten that there may be a system of high-tariff taxation under which the government receives little and the protected industries receive much, and that there may be a system of low-tariff taxation under which the government receives a great deal and the protected industries receive but little? The McKinley Tariff is framed on the first idea, and the Wilson Tariff is framed on the idea of revenue.

If you will take up the history of the free-trade movement in England you will find that nothing so surprised tariff reformers as the fact that the more they cut down, and the more they transferred to the free list, the larger revenues accrued to the government. So that Mr. Gladstone was able to say, when they had finally reduced their schedules from twelve hundred taxed articles to about seven, that the revenue was still as great from the seven as it had been from the twelve hundred.

Increasing Revenues.

I have here the report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1847, in which Mr. Walker declared that in the very first year under the operation of the tariff of 1846 the revenues had gone up from $23,500,000 to $31,500,000, an increase of more than one-third in a single year.

Another argument which gentlemen upon this side are using to excuse themselves for hesitating, at

least, to vote for this bill, is that the income tax has been added to it. I need not say to them that I did not concur in the policy of attaching an income tax bill to the tariff bill. I have had some doubt as to the expediency of a personal income tax at the present time, but when the committee decided otherwise, I threw in my fortunes earnestly and loyally with them because I had never been hostile to the idea of an income tax. Those were strong words which the gentleman from Georgia quoted in defense of it, from Senator Sherman. It has been opposed as class legislation; it is nothing of the kind; it is simply an effort, an honest first effort, to balance the weight of taxation on the poor consumers of the country who have heretofore borne it all. Gentlemen who complain of it as class legislation forget that during the fifty years of its existence in England it has been the strongest force in preventing or allaying those class distinctions that have harassed the other governments of the Old World.

The Income Tax Is No Sectional Legislation.

It has also been opposed in this debate as sectional legislation. Gentlemen have gone so far as to declare that it is aimed at New England or New York in no just or friendly spirit by representatives of the South and of the West. Why, when for a generation New England has been sending out from her colleges men imbued with the doctrine that an income tax is a wise and equal system of taxation; when through the text-books of her great economists, her

Sumner, and Walker, and Perry, she has taught that doctrine in the colleges of the South and West, she can not justly complain that her own teachings are used as a sectional weapon against her. No, I am in close touch with the men of the North—I am in close touch with the men of the West—I am bone of the bone of the men of the South. And to-day I can affirm that in all my conferences with them I have heard no man suggest as the motive for this scheme of taxation that he supported it in any sectional spirit or with any feeling of resentment or hostility to any part of the country.

The Meaning of Tariff Reform.

I agree with the gentleman from Maine that the question of the wages and welfare of the American workingman is the vital point in this controversy. We are trying in this country the experiment whether, under God's favor, with the blessings of religion and education and free government and unbounded resources, we can have a country where every man will be born to the possibility that he can rise to a life of culture and not be condemned from his birth to a life of unending mechanical toil or hopeless drudgery for the mere comforts and necessities of existence. That is the meaning of tariff reform. That is the feeling which animates those who, through victory and defeat, have stood loyally by its cause. We want to make this a country where no man shall be taxed for the private benefit of another man, but where all the blessings of free government, all the influences of church and

school, all our resources, with the skill and science and invention applied to their development, shall be the common untaxed heritage of all the people, adding to the comforts of all, adding to the culture of all, adding to the happiness of all.

If I knew that when the roll is called every Democratic name would respond in the spirit of that larger patriotism which I have tried to suggest, I should be proud and light-hearted to-day. Let me say to my brethren who are doubting as to what they shall do, that this roll call will be entered, not only upon the Journals of this House, it will be written in the history of this country; it will be entered in the annals of freedom throughout all time.

A Battle for Human Freedom.

This is not a battle over percentages, over this or that tariff schedule—it is a battle for human freedom. As Mr. Burke truly said, every great battle for human freedom is waged around the question of taxation. You may think to-day that some peculiar feeling or view of your own will excuse you for not supporting this great movement; you may think to-day that some excuse which seems to cover you as a garment will be sufficient in the future; that some reason which seems strong and satisfactory to you, some desire to oblige a great interest behind you, may justify a negative vote when the roll is called, but the scorching gaze of a liberty-loving posterity will shrivel them away from you forever. The men who had the opportunity to sign the

Declaration of Independence and refused or neglected because there was something in it which they did not like—thank God there were none such, but if there had been, what would be their standing in history to-day? If men on the battlefield at Lexington or at Bunker Hill, from some ground of personal or local dissatisfaction, had thrown away their weapons, what think you would have been their feelings in all the remaining years of their lives when the Liberty Bell rang out on every recurring anniversary of American independence? This is a roll of honor. This is a roll of freedom, and in the name of honor, and in the name of freedom, I summon every Democratic member of this House to inscribe his name upon it.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

Gold and Silver

AND

The Problem of Our National Currency.

ITS HISTORY AND EVOLUTION.

BY HON. J. K. UPTON,

First Assistant Secretary of Treasury under Sherman, Windom and Folger. An Impartial Authority.

MONEY, as used to effect the exchange of commodities, is the greatest labor-saving machine ever invented by man. Without money, wealth might exist, but it would bring to the possessor but few comforts.

Money of No Recent Origin.

This commercial contrivance is, however, of no recent origin, for we read that in the days of the Patriarchs Abraham used money to pay for the cave of Machpelah, in which to bury his dead. The story of that transaction is a significant one, showing at what an early date mankind adopted the use of money. Abraham was at the head of a nomadic tribe encamped among the simple people of Hebron, who looked upon him as a mighty prince. Upon the death of his wife he naturally desired to give her a

sepulture worthy of his rank and position. Word was therefore sent out that he wished to purchase a lot of ground for such a purpose, preferring the cave of Machpelah, for which he would pay a proper amount of money. Ephron, the owner of the cave, declared that it was worth four hundred shekels of silver, and Abraham therefore weighed them out to him, as "current money among the merchants," and in return received his title to the cave, the boundaries and transfer duly witnessed.

In this transaction are found in effect all the form and methods employed for a like transaction to-day, except that the weighing of the money at the time of the transfer is obviated by the metal having been previously converted into disks of known and uniform weight.

Ancient Use of Silver as Money.

But for the general use of money to effect such changes of property, Ephron could hardly have found terms in which to express the value of his cave, and Abraham could hardly have paid for it unless Ephron would have accepted therefor a portion of his flocks, which, though valuable to Abraham, might not have been needed by Ephron, and he might have found trouble in exchanging them for what he did need, as only for "current money" would the merchants surely part with their goods.

That silver, out of all the products of the earth and sea, had already been selected for use as money, is especially creditable to the commercial acuteness of

these ancient people. A search of three thousand years since made has found no better commodity for that purpose. In recent years it has been supplemented by the use of gold, a metal possessing for money most of the qualities of silver, and its higher value in relation to its weight renders it more serviceable, perhaps, in transactions involving large amounts. Upon one or the other of these metals the commercial exchanges of the world have been effected for centuries, and in the terms of their weight all values of property have come to be expressed. When we say an article is worth so many dollars, pounds, or francs, we only mean that it can be exchanged for so many pieces of gold or silver, the weight of the pieces being known, fixed and uniform.

Other Commodities Used as Money.

The experiment of using other commodities for money has, however often been tried. At different times and in various places, hand-made nails, the shells of clams, tail feathers of birds, skins of animals, cattle, corn and tobacco, and nearly all the products of the field and the chase have been used as money, but their tendency to decay or their inability to withstand the attrition of circulation have soon rendered them worthless, though in some cases they served well the exigencies which brought them into such use.

Representative Money.

Promises to pay specified amounts of money on demand have also been issued in recent years for

money, both by the State and by private corporations, and though only of paper, have served a valuable auxiliary as long as the promises were promptly redeemed in money. The ancients had none of this so-called paper money, perhaps because they had no paper, but they closely approximated the use of representative money when they cut out from the skin of an animal an irregularly outlined piece and paid it out at the value of the skin itself, with the understanding that the holder could at any time obtain the skin therefor, provided that upon presentation for that purpose the piece was found to fit the hole from which it was taken.

The use of checks in business, the offsetting of credits against each other through the agency of banks and clearing-houses in the centers of trade, have, to a certain extent, relieved money from a portion of its duties; but financial transactions of every kind are based upon a money standard, and resulting balances paid only by money itself.

The Functions of Money.

The natural functions of money, of whatever character it consists, are, therefore, to aid in the transfer of property from one party to another, and to furnish a common standard in which all values may be expressed.

The State, however, not content with using money for the simple purposes mentioned, has brought it into politics and clothed it with a new function by which it can satisfy a contract with less than the

amount called for, or with a new kind of money not contemplated in the contract. This extraordinary endowment is known as the legal-tender quality, and it is only effective when backed by the power of the State. Under this illogical and unnatural acquisition forced upon it by law, money springs into prominence as a political factor, and begins to have a history, or rather to create one.

The Legal-Tender Function.

From this new legal-tender function three projects have sprung by which money, heretofore an impartial factor in the transfer of property, becomes an aggressive agent by which the most sacred rights of a man to his own accumulations have been destroyed.

These projects may be classified as follows:—

1st. To retain the name of the coin, but to take from it a portion of its value, the reduced price to be equally available in payment of a debt, known as debasing the coinage.

2d. To issue paper promises-to-pay, of certain amounts, the issue to be a full satisfaction for all debts to the amount of its face, known as inflation.

3d. To substitute, at a rate fixed by law, one metal for another, and to give the creditor the option of paying his debts in either, known as bimetallism.

A monetary history of any country is mainly but a recount of the operations of money as a legal tender, for money left to natural laws has no history, no more than has the ceaseless flow of a river or the rise and fall of the tide.

In the days of Abraham, with no legal-tender quality, money did its work silently and faithfully, unrestricted by legislation, and we know of its existence only incidentally. To the laws of this country that have intervened to check and misdirect its operations is due the history which this article will relate.

Combination of Two Standards.

The early settlers of this country, coming from England, were accustomed to reckon values in pounds, shillings, and pence, and to use the shillings of that country as current money. These pieces have a history worthy to be related: William I, the Norman King, placed in the Tower a bar of silver $\frac{11}{12}$ fine, containing $\frac{3}{4}$ of an ounce troy more than the troy pound of 5760 grains, and declared it to be the standard, both of weights and values, for his newly acquired realm. As a standard of value, this Tower pound was divided into 240 parts each part to be known as a penny, and for many years only pennies were coined; but as trade increased, out of the pound were coined twenty pieces known as shillings, each necessarily containing twelve pence. As a standard of weight, the same pound was also divided into 240 parts, each part to be known as a pennyweight, being of the same weight as a penny; but for some reason the relation of weight and value was then abandoned, and the pound was divided into twelve parts, to be known as ounces, each part, of course, containing twenty pennyweights.

This ingenious and admirable conbination of two standards was not permitted to continue long, for Edward III, finding his crown debts pressing, directed that twenty-two shillings be coined from a pound instead of twenty, and by making the new pieces a legal tender for the same purpose as those previously issued he cheated his creditors out of two shillings on every pound of debt, as the new pieces had no value in the market except what their weight for bullion gave them.

Debasing the Money.

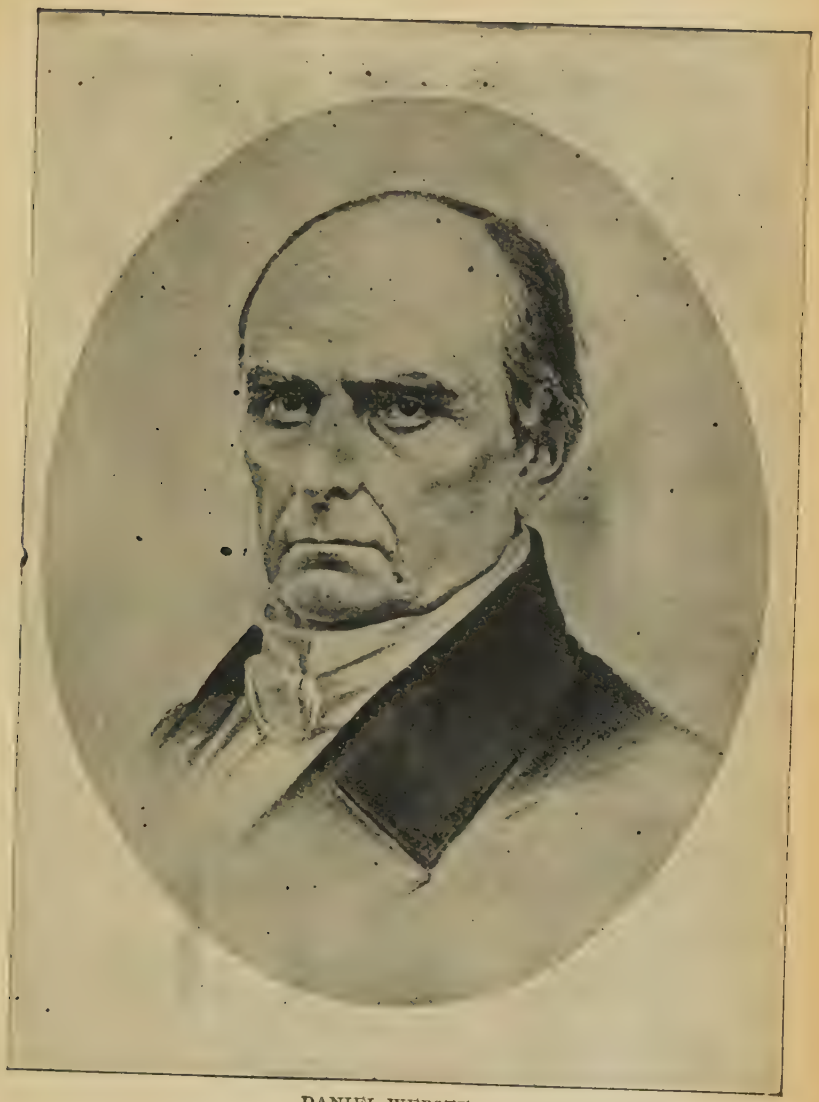
The successors of this monarch repeatedly worked this silent and sleek scheme for replenishing their depleted coffers at the expense of their debtors, until Queen Elizabeth by royal proclamation declared that out of the troy pound, which Henry VIII had substituted for the Tower pound, there should be coined sixty-two of these pieces. By this time the shilling contained only about one-third of its original amount of silver, and even the dunderheaded Englishmen began to see there was cheating somewhere around the board, and that royalty alone was winning the stakes. So a great clamor was raised, and since then no debasement of the full legal-tender coins has taken place in Merrie England.

The colonists, who brought these pieces with them to this country, were doubtless familiar with this process of debasing coins and the gain that would come therefrom to the State, for as early as 1652 the Massachusetts Colony set up a mint and commenced the coinage of shilling pieces avowedly containing

but ten pence' worth of silver. The mint master, however, took fifteen pence out of every twenty shillings coined, and then the English Mint declared the silver in the coins was not of an even weight or fineness, and so the pieces circulated at twenty-five per cent. discount, though, being a legal tender at their face value, they were worth par in payment of debt. These shillings, however, became the standard by which values were reckoned from that time on, though but few were coined, and those were hoarded or shipped abroad, notwithstanding such shipment was forbidden by severe penalties, for there existed in the colonies a cheaper way of paying debts than that afforded even by debased coins. Clam shells, cattle, corn and beaver had been made legal tender, and the principle laid down by Sir Thomas Gresham, of Queen Elizabeth's time, that no two currencies of unequal value would circulate together—the poorer driving out the better—was the secret of the deportation of the coin. To protect the Treasury against the operations of this law, in 1658 it was ordered that taxes should not be paid in "lank cattle." Of clam shells, also, it was found that only the broken and lusterless ones remained in circulation—the poorer currency driving out the better, whether of cattle or of clam shells.

The Spanish Pillar Silver Dollar.

At this opportune moment the Spanish pillar silver dollar, brought to this country mainly by buccaneers, began to circulate throughout the colonies, with



DANIEL WEBSTER.

its "pieces of eight," or reals. This dollar was a stranger in a strange land, and had nothing to recommend it to favor except that it bore the device of a nation whose commercial integrity had never been questioned. But the colonists reckoned in shillings and pence, and the relation in value between the strange piece and a shilling must necessarily be fixed in some way. The English Mint declared the piece contained four shillings and six pence of sterling silver, and this became the established rate in South Carolina, but the Massachusetts Colony declared it contained six shillings, and of the shillings of that colony this was about right. Virginia adopted the same rating. New York declared that the piece contained eight shillings, though that colony never had a shilling piece of any kind, and nowhere in the world was there one of that value. Pennsylvania, for no reason stated, said it contained seven shillings and six pence; Maryland adopted the rating of New York. Thus in New England and Virginia the real became a "nine pence," in New York and Maryland a shilling, and in Pennsylvania it was called eleven pence, or "levy;" and by these names it was known for nearly two centuries. The dollar having taken the place of the pound in reckonings, to a certain extent, it was subdivided into shillings and pence for purposes of accounts, those being the lower denominations in use, and accordingly in Virginia and New England accounts were kept frequently in dollars and 72ds; in New York and Maryland in dollars and 96ths; in Pennsylvania in dollars and 90ths, as seen in the

Treasury books of the Confederation, while in South Carolina they were kept in dollars and 54ths, for in every case a shilling still contained twelve pence, and these fractional divisions of the dollar represented the number of pence the several colonies alleged this piece contained.

Diverse Valuation of the Shilling.

The accounts of Washington as he traveled from Mount Vernon to Boston, filed in the Treasury, show the changes rendered necessary in the reckonings as he passed through the several States, sometimes the local pound, sometimes the dollar, being the unit, but in the end the distinguished traveler reduced the currencies to one standard and determined how much was due him in Spanish dollars and reals, a feat in computation for which the Father of his Country has never received due credit.

Of course, these diverse valuations of the shilling gave to the pounds corresponding variations in values, and as trade was mainly with the mother country, exchanges were conducted with endless confusions in the reckonings. Had the colonists kept the pound sterling for their unit, used the English shillings and pence for their coins, as they were accustomed, all these complications would have been avoided. But contracts were out calling for shillings, and the finding of more shillings in a dollar by law than existed in fact defrauded the creditor to that extent of his just dues, the result if not the purpose of the legal-tender quality given these coins,

whose existence even was to a certain extent fictitious. The use of silver as a circulating medium was, however, soon abandoned for paper issues.

Paper Money.

The Massachusetts Colony was the first to issue paper money. In 1690, to satisfy the claims of her soldiers who had been on an expedition to Canada and came back without booty, 7000 pounds were issued, but being made receivable in payment of taxes, did not suffer great depreciation, though, according to Sumner, the soldiers disposed of it at 33 per cent. discount. Other limited issues followed in anticipation of taxes, but in 1709, to pay for another expedition against Canada, 50,000 pounds were issued. Other colonies joined in the expedition and all issued paper to pay expenses. The issues were made a legal tender and the acceptance of the notes enforced from time to time by stringent enactments. Notwithstanding this, they continued to depreciate. Industries at first stimulated lagged, and a great demand arising for additional issues to make business brisk, the colonial governments or their chartered banks issued bills upon almost any pretext—as in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, upon real estate mortgages, family silver, and other securities. In the latter State interest was made payable in flax and hemp, to encourage those industries, but very few of its loans were ever paid, and the titles to lands fell into inextricable confusion. New loans were issued by the colonies with which to pay

off the old ones, until the issues of the Massachusetts Colony were depreciated to 11 for 1, at which rate the notes were redeemed. The notes of other colonies were also retired upon various scales until 1751, when Parliament prohibited, in most of the colonies, the further issue of legal-tender notes. The depreciated bills out of the way, silver returned, and even some gold appeared in circulation, also brought in by buccaneers.

Bimetallism.

The colonists tried a great many commodities for a standard of value, but only twice did they undertake to have two standards in circulation at once, their values to be kept equal by the force of law.

Exploring parties of the Massachusetts Colony found on the shores of Long Island a partially civilized community of Indians. Some of those living along the shores were engaged in polishing the shells of the clam and of the periwinkle, which they traded off for ornaments at a pretty well established rate. The shells were called Peag, and they served every purpose of money among the simple natives. One black shell was about equal to two white ones, but in the absence of any law fixing a parity of value both shells circulated, each for what it was worth, the white at about six, the black about three for a penny. The colonists, however, made Peag a legal tender for twelve pence, and immediately their deterioration commenced—lusterless and half polished shells being as good as any in payment of debt. Again the law came to its rescue, and, in 1648, provided

that only such Peag as was unbroken and of good color should pass as money. A little later it provided that Peag should be a legal tender for forty shillings, the white at eight, the black at six for a penny. Peag was now not only a legal tender in payment of debt in a modest way, but a fixed relation was established between the value of the white and the black shells. The law did all it could to extend the circulation of these shells, but Peag was perverse, and just as great results were expected from it, it wholly disappeared from circulation, having become so utterly worthless nobody would accept it, doubtless somewhat to the surprise of the "Bi-Shellists," whose faith in the efficacy of a double standard seemed unbounded.

The Experiment of 1762.

The next colonial experiment of the kind was in 1762. The gold which followed in the channels of the depreciated paper, as above mentioned, circulated at its own value and was very useful, but it soon attracted the attention of the General Court of Massachusetts, and with the declared purpose to facilitate trade, this court, in that year, made gold a legal tender at two and a half pence silver per grain. At this rating gold was the cheaper metal for paying debts, and, in conformity with the Gresham law, silver promptly disappeared from circulation, leaving gold to circulate alone. The colonists were surprised at the result and were at a loss to know what caused it, but silver would not return to associate

with gold on the terms fixed by law, and the colonists had to get along as best they could for a few years, when the necessities of war brought about other forms of currency.

THE CRADLE—GOLD MINING.

In September, 1774, the first Congress of the colonies assembled in Philadelphia with a view to obtain a redress of grievances, not a separation from the

mother country. It was composed of delegates from every colony, and had no clearly defined powers. The conflict at Lexington, in April, 1775, while this Congress was holding its second session, dispelled all hopes of a pacific settlement of the difficulties, and preparations for war were promptly begun. To meet expenses money was necessary, but this body had no power to levy a tax. The members, however, were accustomed to the issue of bills as a substitute for money, and to such issue they naturally turned. On the 10th of May, 1775, an act was passed authorizing the issue of $3,000,000 on the faith of the "Continent," by which the bills became known as Continental money. They were in form as follows:

CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

No. . . . . Dollars.

This bill entitles the bearer to receive . . Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in gold or silver, according to the resolutions of the Congress held at Philadelphia, on the 10th day of May, A. D. 1775.

Nothing appears on the face of the bill as to its redemption, but the law imposed upon the several colonies the duty to redeem the issue within three years, at a stated amount for each, based upon their population. This was probably as far as this Congress had power to go, but the several colonies, instead of levying a tax to meet the redemption of the notes, set up their own printing presses and entered into competition with each other and Con-

gress in the issue of additional notes of their own. Within a year Congress, having issued $9,000,000 of its notes, and their value depreciating, took prompt and harsh measures to force their circulation and maintain their value, imposing severe penalties upon any one refusing to accept them at par in exchange for commodities.

"Not Worth a Continental."

In 1777 the colonies, at the urgent request of Congress, stopped their issues, but not until they had put into circulation about $210,000,000. The exact amount was never known, the issue having been so hurried that no count of it was made. How far they ever went in contracting or redeeming their issue it is impossible to discover. Of the Continental issues the limit of $200,000,000 was reached in 1779, of which $65,500,000 were issued the year previous. This was the good-sized straw which broke the back of the patient camel. The next year the notes were worth only two cents on the dollar, practically disappearing from circulation. In Philadelphia they were then used for wall paper, and a dog covered with tar, stuck full of the bills, was chased through the streets amid the jeers of the crowd. The utter lack of value in these notes gave rise to the expression, "Not worth a Continental."

For the ruinous policy pursued, the local colonial governments alone were responsible. To meet the expenses of the war they would neither levy a tax themselves nor authorize their Congress to do so,

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

That in the end the bills were repudiated does not signify that the war to that extent cost the colonies nothing. The amount of the depreciation was only a form of a tax paid by every one in proportion to the amount of money he held and the time he held it, thus imposing upon the officers and soldiers who fought the battles, and upon their families, the patriotic and the helpless, the main cost of the war, leaving to the Tories, and those who stayed at home, comparative exemption from its burdens. But the forced issue of such legal-tender bills worked more than pecuniary hardship. Says a prominent writer of the period: "We have suffered more from this cause (paper money) than from any other cause or calamity. It has killed more men, pervaded and corrupted the choicest interests of our country more, and done more injustice than even the arms and artifices of our enemy."

The Bank of North America.

This paper being out of the way, specie flowed in to take its place, and there was soon no stringency in the circulation. But the itching for paper money was not cured, and in 1781 the Bank of North America was chartered in Philadelphia, with authority to issue notes with which to purchase rations for the army. The notes were redeemable at sight in the Spanish dollars, and though their redemption was maintained, the people were cautious and slow in taking them. In Rhode Island 100,000 pounds legal tenders were issued on land mortgages. The notes immediately depreciated, endless litigation en-

sued, and in October, 1789, the depreciation was fixed by law at eighteen for one, but at that rate the debtors were allowed to pay in produce.

Initiatory Steps for a Mint.

This ended paper-money schemes under the Confederation. Initiatory steps were meanwhile taken toward the establishment of a Mint, that the country might have a distinctive coinage of its own. In 1785 Congress adopted the Spanish dollar as the unit of value, a function it was then performing in many cases by common consent, and the following year declared that it contained of pure silver 375.64 grains. The decimal system was also required in accounts. At the same time the coinage of a ten-dollar gold piece, containing 246.268 grains, was authorized—making in law one of weight in gold equal in value to 15.253 of silver, while in the market the ratio was one to 14.89. Why silver should thus have been undervalued when its use was so generally popular and universal does not appear, but the adoption of the Constitution prevented further steps from being taken under this law.

Bimetallism.

The new Constitution was adopted March 4, 1789. One of its provisions gave Congress the power to coin money and regulate its value. Alexander Hamilton was called to the Treasury, and to him Congress referred the subject for investigation and report. In response he urged that both silver and gold be coined for depositors in unlimited

THE UNITED STATES MINT, NEW ORLEANS.

amounts, one pound in weight in gold to be equal to fifteen pounds in silver for coins. He urged a dollar for the unit to contain either 371¼ grains of pure silver or 24¾ grains of pure gold, the introduction of the decimal system in accounts, and the coinage of halves, quarters, and dimes in silver of proportionate weight. Hamilton believed, or at least hoped, that with the relation established both metals would circulate together, though he admitted that if the relation should not prove to be the market one, only the cheaper metal would remain in circulation.

Jefferson believed the ratio of one to fifteen to be the proper one, and urged its adoption. The recommendations of Hamilton were soon incorporated into a law, a Mint was established, and coins struck as contemplated. In the market one of gold proved worth nearer 15¼ of silver, and, following Gresham's law, only silver coins remained in circulation. Gold coins were hoarded or shipped abroad.

The New Silver Dollar.

But the new silver dollars soon met with competition. The clipped and worn Spanish pieces, having been made a legal tender, entered into circulation and in turn drove out the new silver coins, so that all the output of the Mint was mainly for exportation. To prevent the shipment of silver, the Mint gave preference to coining fractional pieces, thus exhausting its capacity upon as little silver in value as possible.

In 1805 only 321 dollar pieces were coined, and on

May 1, 1806, President Jefferson, through James Madison, Secretary of State, sent an order to Robert Patterson, Director of the Mint, "That all the silver to be coined at the Mint shall be of small denomination, so that the value of the largest pieces shall not exceed one-half dollar." The coinage thus entirely suspended was not resumed for thirty years.

As a result the country had only bank issues and the light-weight foreign coins, and could not understand why it had to put up with such a poor currency. The Mints were open for the coinage of gold and for the fractional silver, and a large number of pieces were being struck, but none of them found their way into circulation.

Spanish Coins No Longer Legal Tender.

The Democratic party, headed by Mr. Benton, then a Senator from Missouri, determined to increase the ratio between the two metals with the hope of retaining gold. So an act was passed in 1834 reducing the weight of the gold coins about seven per cent. The gold dollar now contained 23.22 grains, making the ratio between the two metals about one to sixteen. It now turned out that silver was the undervalued metal, and even had there been no cheaper foreign coins in existence, it would have fled the country, leaving the gold alone for circulation. But the light-weight foreign coins and depreciated bank bills circulated freely, and little was seen of either silver or gold coins of this country.

The Real pieces became so worn that in every

transaction a dispute arose as to whether the pillars could be seen, until somebody scratched an X on the piece, when it passed as a dime, and was overvalued at that. To correct this evil, in 1853 Congress directed a reduction in the weight of the fractional silver pieces, forbade the Mint to coin them for depositors, and directed their coinage to be made only on government account, and to be issued at their face value only in exchange for gold coins or silver dollars. In 1857, the Spanish and Mexican dollars and the Real pieces were authorized to be redeemed at the Mint at a little above their bullion value—they no longer to be legal tender. These latter pieces immediately disappeared, and the bright new dimes, quarters, and halves, fresh from the Mint, took their places.

The Trade Dollar.

The bank issues being now well under control, gold coin also began to circulate. Gold pieces for larger transactions, silver pieces for smaller ones, made a very satisfactory currency. The government received and paid out no other money on public account until 1862, when coin was again largely forced out of circulation by the legal-tender greenbacks. The opening up of new silver mines in the West, however, brought considerable silver to the Mints for coinage into dollars, but not for circulation—the bullion in a dollar being worth about $1.05—but for exportation at its bullion value.

About this time a revision of the Mint laws was

made by officials of the Treasury Department, and a bill prepared at the Treasury, after several years of delay, passed Congress and received the approval of the President, February 12, 1873. To aid the producers of silver bullion in finding a market for their product, authority was given to the Mint for the manufacture of silver disks or bars, to bear the stamp of the government as a guaranty of their weight and fineness, the depositor to pay the expense of their manufacture; and the coinage of the former silver dollars was no longer authorized. Under this authority coins were manufactured, known as trade dollars, each one seven and one-half grains greater in weight than the other silver dollars. The scheme proved a success, and a large number were manufactured and sent abroad. In China they were used as a circulating medium, creating a special market in which there was little or no competition.

Germany, however, having determined to adopt the gold standard, redeemed its enormous issues of silver pieces, melted them down, and thus brought into the market, at once, over 7,000,000 pounds of silver. Large discoveries of the metal were also made in Nevada, and silver became greatly depreciated in the markets of the world. Had not the coinage of the silver dollars been prohibited by the Act of 1873, the silver dollar would again, under the Gresham law, have taken its place as the unit in our currency, driving gold from circulation, and, regardless of its depreciation, would have been a legal tender for even pre-existing contracts.

An outcry therefore arose, that in the prohibition of the silver dollar the debtor class had been greatly wronged, although very few of that class, or of any other, had ever seen or expected to see a silver dollar in circulation.

The Bland Bill.

Upon the assembling of Congress in 1877, a determined effort was made to restore the silver dollar to free circulation, and a bill to that effect, known as the Bland Bill, passed the House, but was so changed in the Senate that the Treasury was authorized to purchase not less than $2,000,000 nor more than $4,000,000 worth of silver bullion monthly, at the best rate obtainable, and to coin it into dollars for which certificates might be issued, the dollars to remain in the Treasury untouched to meet their redemption upon presentation; and thus amended the bill became a law February 28, 1878. The provisions of this act, however, did not prove satisfactory, and in 1890 another concession was made to the advocates of the unlimited coinage of the silver dollar by authorizing the Government to purchase, at the best rates obtainable, 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month and to issue silver certificates thereon for the amount of the purchase, the metal to be coined into silver dollars only as needed for the redemption of the certificates issued.

Paper Money.

The Constitution of 1789 provided that no State should emit bills of credit, make anything legal tender but gold and silver, or change the terms of

RICHARD P. BLAND.

Originator of the "Bland Dollar."

a pre-existing contract. Consequently, the power to issue paper money, if existing anywhere in the country, was lodged in the General Government.

As a result, in 1790, Hamilton recommended to Congress the establishment of a National Bank, with authority to issue $10,000,000 of bills legally receivable in payment of public dues, and an act for that purpose was promptly approved, but not without grave doubts of the power of the Government to grant such a charter. The bank gaining public confidence, its notes circulated at par and were accepted as readily in private transactions as though made a legal tender for that purpose.

The States, stripped of their power to emit bills directly, also resorted to issues of banks organized under their charters. These bills were always redeemable at sight by the bank issuing them. Not being a legal tender, the notes had only a commercial value, but a bank in good standing was enabled to keep more or less of them in circulation in its immediate vicinity, and usually maintaining but small reserve, reaped much profit from this use of its credit. Away from their home, however, the bills were subjected to varying rates of discount, sometimes as high as fifty per cent., and speculation in them kept business feverish and unsettled.

Wild-cat Currency.

The temptation to profit by such issues led to endless schemes to impose upon the public worthless bills, and these issues became known in time as wild-

cat currency. In 1809 a crash came, and none too soon, for even in New England, where such issues were best guarded, one bank had out more than $500,000 in bills with only $84 in specie to meet their redemption, and others were about as weak. Great loss ensued from the panic, and more rigorous restrictive legislation for future issues was enacted, at least in that section.

The issues of the National Bank were kept at par, but its charter expiring in 1811, the bank was unable to obtain a renewal; the influence of the bank in restricting the depreciated issues of the State banks had been too salutary to suit the demands of those who wanted money plenty, regardless of its value. The National Bank out of the way, the mania for bank issues began to develop in the Middle and Western States. In 1814 all the banks outside of New England suspended paying specie for bills. No excuse for the suspension is apparent, except the war then going on with England. With the return of peace, however, came additional issues of bank paper, and for a while apparent prosperity prevailed.

The Golden Age of the West.

The unequal value of the notes in different sections of the country somewhat embarrassed exchanges, but it was thought that in time, when the people were accustomed to such conditions, the difficulties would vanish. In 1814 Pennsylvania chartered 41 banks, and in the year following, Kentucky 40 more, their capital aggregating $27,000,000, with little or no re-

striction as to the issue of notes. This period was considered by many as the golden age of the West, but most of the banks failed within a year or two, and their enormous issues became worthless. In 1818 twenty thousand persons in Philadelphia were begging employment. Business was at a standstill and property was unsalable at any price. The National Bank, which had obtained a renewal of its charter in 1816, for twenty years, suspended specie payments with other banks.

The Famous Specie Order.

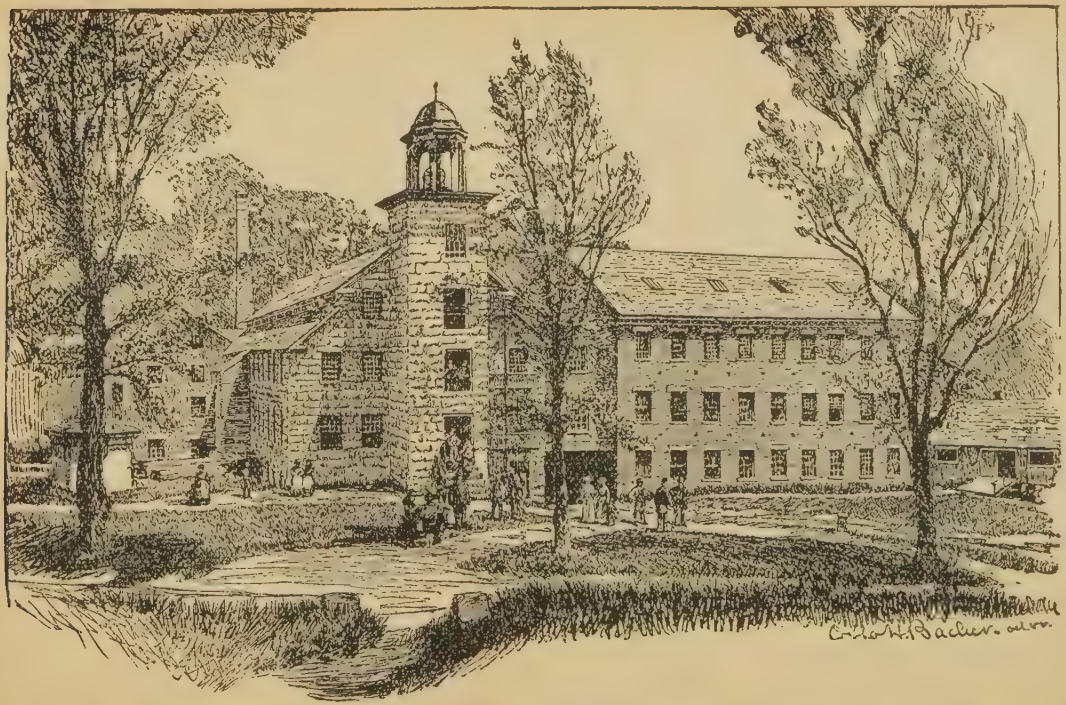
The depreciated issues drove all the coin from the West into New England, which, having a comparatively stable standard and circulation, soon absorbed pretty much all the trade of the country, for even clipped and light-weight foreign coins were infinitely preferable to such bank issues. But the demand for bank issues was renewed throughout the country, and again there could be but one result. In 1837 another crash came. Even the New York and Massachusetts country banks, comparatively conservative, were issuing notes at the rate of twenty-five to one of specie reserve. After this explosion came the famous specie order of President Jackson, by which the public Treasury thereafter received only specie in payment of public dues. Fortunate indeed would it have been for the welfare of the country if the public Treasury and every individual had from the outset treated all the bank issues in the same way, and depended upon specie alone for circulation, of

which there was at all times enough for the purpose, or the deficiency could have been promptly supplied by the Mint, which was coining silver for exportation.

Bank notes, generally at par, continued to furnish the circulation of the country, till the outbreak of the Rebellion, with only a brief disturbance in 1857, but it must be remembered they were at par only in the vicinity of their issue.

The "Greenbacks."

In 1861 Congress met in special session to find the Capitol a military camp. An army had been called to the field to suppress the uprising of the South, threatening the very existence of the government. To meet pressing needs the Treasury was authorized to issue $60,000,000 of notes payable on demand and receivable for public dues. They circulated at par but were looked upon with suspicion. However, they tided over the financial difficulties of the summer, but upon the assembling of Congress in regular session, in the December following, it was evident that measures more efficient must be taken to meet the rapidly increasing expenses of the government. A bill was, therefore, presented in the House authorizing the issue of $150,000,000 of notes for circulation, to be a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except for customs dues and interest on public debt. The measure was received with consternation and alarm even by the best friends of the new Republican administration, but it became a law February 25, 1862, notwithstanding the opposi-



A VERY OLD WOOLEN MILL IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, AND A MILL OF THE SECOND PERIOD ATTACHED THERETO.

tion of such Republicans as Justin S. Morrill, Roscoe Conkling and William Pitt Fessenden, and of the entire Democratic party. The notes became known as legal tenders or greenbacks. No time for their redemption was fixed, but they were convertible at par into six per cent. gold-bearing interest bonds, authorized by the same act. Before their issue the banks had suspended payment of specie for notes, and the new bills soon became the standard of values as well as the unit of accounts. The courts held their issue constitutional and their tender sufficient for the payment of even a pre-existing obligation calling for dollars, though only specie dollars existed when the contract was made. Their convertibility into bonds, as stated, checked somewhat their immediate depreciation, but new issues followed, and when in 1863 the right to convert them into interest-bearing bonds ceased, the notes were worth in coin only sixty-five. Their limit of issue was fixed at $450,000,000; that of fractional pieces convertible into legal tenders at $50,000,000.

Another Form of Paper Issue.

Another new form of paper issue was also authorized. In 1863 an act was passed by the central government, supplemented by another act in 1864, under which banks might be organized, and upon furnishing the Treasurer of the United States with bonds of the government to a limited extent they would be entitled to receive therefor circulating notes equal in amount to ninety per cent. of the bonds fur-

nished. A tax of ten per cent. per annum was subsequently imposed upon the issues of the State banks, to take effect July 1, 1865, avowedly for the purpose of driving them from circulation.

These notes were receivable for government dues to the same extent as the legal tenders, into which they were convertible at par. Consequently these two classes of notes maintained a uniformity of value, though much below that of specie, and fluctuating daily in comparison with that standard, destroyed all stability in values, stimulating speculation, not only in gold itself, but in stocks, cotton, grain, and other farm products, until the machinery of exchange was little better than a wheel of fortune.

Certain interest-bearing obligations of the government were also made legal tender, and their use as a bank reserve liberated to that extent an equal amount of the legal tenders for circulation, thus further inflating the already excessive issues.

Outstanding Paper Issues in 1865.

In 1865, at the close of the Rebellion, there were outstanding, of all paper issues, $983,000,000, having a coin value of $692,000,000, gold being worth in paper about 141. At the instance of Hon. Hugh McCulloch, then Secretary of the Treasury, Congress, in April, 1866, authorized the retirement of $10,000,000 of legal tenders within six months, and thereafter not more than $4,000,000 per month. By force of taxation the State issues disappeared, and the interest-

bearing obligations as they matured were converted into long-time bonds.

These steps tended to reduce the volume of paper circulation, notwithstanding the increase of national bank issues, but on June 30, 1866, gold was quoted at 150. The aggregate circulation, however, continued to gradually diminish in amount, and in March, 1869, the question having arisen as to the currency in which the bonds and notes were payable, the faith of the Nation was pledged to pay all interest-bearing obligations in coin, unless by the terms of their issue it had been expressly provided that they might be paid in lawful money, and also that at the earliest practicable date the legal tender notes should be paid in coin. Still, on June 30, 1869, there were outstanding of paper issues $756,000,000, the authority for further retirement of the legal tenders having been suspended in 1868, leaving these notes in circulation, $356,000,000. Gold was then quoted at 137. In the fall of 1874 a stringency in the money market, caused by the financial panic of the previous year, led to the reissue of these notes to $383,000,000, which amount was fixed by law as their limit.

The Law of 1875.

To Congress the country now turned for relief from the long unsettled value of its currency. An act, therefore, prepared by a caucus of Republican Senators, of which Hon. John Sherman was chairman, passed both Houses as a strictly party measure, and was approved January 14, 1875. It provided for the

JOHN G CARLISLE
Secretary of the Treasury.

coinage of fractional silver coins and the redemption therein of the fractional notes, for the unlimited circulation of National Bank notes, and for the retirement of legal tenders to the extent of eighty per cent. of any such increase, until only $300,000,000 should remain in circulation, and for the redemption of the notes in coin at the Sub-Treasury in New York, on and after January 1, 1879.

To carry into effect these provisions, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to use any available cash in the Treasury and to issue at par any of the bonds authorized by the refunding acts of 1870 and 1871, and to apply the proceeds to the purpose of such redemption.

For several years the expediency of retaining these notes as part of the permanent circulation of the country has been much discussed, and upon the question as to their disposition after redemption no unanimity of views was reached in the caucus framing the measure, so the matter was purposely left open for future legislation.

In March, 1877, Mr. Sherman, to whom had been intrusted the explanation and advocacy of the bill in the Senate, was called to the Treasury. He found the fractional notes had been largely redeemed in silver, and that the retirement of the legal tenders consequent upon the increase of the bank circulation was in satisfactory progress, but that no coin had been accumulated with which to redeem the notes on January 1, 1879. Gold was quoted at 106.

Issue of Bonds.

Through an arrangement with certain bankers who were then purchasing the Government bonds for refunding, the Secretary promptly sold for resumption $15,000,000 of four and one-half per cent. bonds at par, and later in the summer $25,000,000 additional of four per cents. at par, the first issue of bonds since the war bearing so low a rate of interest. But a series of adverse circumstances operated against additional sales of these bonds, and all further steps toward securing a fund for resumption were suspended. Gold was now at 103. The continual advance in the value of the money standard had embarrassed to a certain extent the debtor class, and an outcry against a further enhancement of its value was very pronounced. Upon the assembling of Congress in December, thirteen bills were introduced the first day for the repeal of the resumption act, and one of them passed the House and lacked but two votes of passing the Senate. In every direction the outlook was discouraging for the friends of the measure, but the Secretary announced to Congress and the country that unless the law was repealed he should certainly comply with its provisions and redeem the notes as required by law, on and after January 1, 1879. The law was not repealed, but an act was passed forbidding the retirement of the notes beyond the existing amount, $346,681,016, and requiring their reissue after redemption, thus settling a much-debated policy.

An Era of Enterprise and Prosperity.

In April, 1878, the Secretary went to New York and sold $50,000,000 of four and one-half per cents. at 101 net, thus securing in all $90,500,000 in gold coin for redemption. With this, and an estimated

GOLD MINING IN CALIFORNIA—THE SLUICE.

amount of about $40,000,000 surplus cash in the Treasury, he believed he could easily redeem all the notes presented for that purpose. Notwithstanding the ample preparations, the premium on gold did not disappear until December 15th. The 1st day of

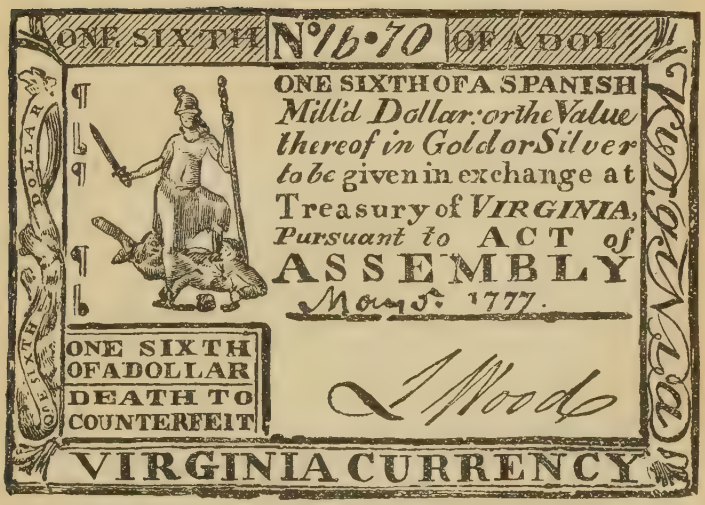
January was Sunday, and no business was transacted. On the following day no little anxiety was felt at the Treasury, but in the evening came a dispatch showing more gold for notes than notes for gold had been presented. The crisis had passed and resumption was accomplished. An era of enterprise and prosperity set in, unparalleled in modern history. Within the next ten years following the taxable wealth of the country increased about $780,000,000, an amount considerably greater than the total of such wealth in 1850, as shown by the returns of the Seventh Census.

The issue limit of these notes still remains unchanged, the redeemability of them in coin unquestioned, and the resumption fund untouched. Meanwhile the issues of the national banks have been greatly reduced, the high price of the collateral bonds rendering their continuance unprofitable to the banks.

A Great Success.

The experiment of maintaining at par an issue of Government notes, based upon a reasonable reserve in specie and further secured by a pledge of the faith of the Nation, has proved a success in furnishing a part of the currency of the country. The plan will likely attract attention throughout the civilized world, for the circulation of no country is upon an entirely satisfactory basis. At present a no more economical or satisfactory form of currency exists than these notes of the United States. Deprived of their legal-tender quality when not redeemable at par with coin, as are the bank notes of England, which quality

alone can ever make them harmful, but which may prove useful as long as their redeemability is maintained, the notes which have already survived the exigencies that brought them into existence may prove the money of the future.



Hon. John Sherman

ON THE

Currency of the Future.

One-half Gold and One-half Silver.

THE previous chapter was prepared by Mr. Upton upon the recommendation of Senator John Sherman, whose hand has shaped the financial legislation of the country for the last quarter of a century, and upon its being submitted to him he stated that he found it very interesting and deserving of wide circulation, as no other measure before Congress could compare with that of the currency in its effects upon the business interests of the country; that it affected every man, woman and child in our broad land, the rich with his investments, the poor with his labor.

At the same time he made the following statement of his views as to the future currency of the country.

Checks, Clearing Houses and Paper Notes.

The employment of either silver or gold for general purposes of circulation is growing relatively less every year in all civilized nations. The use of checks in transferring credits from one party to another, the employment of clearing-houses in commercial centers to offset the checks against each

other, to save the labor and risk of individual collections, and lastly, the employment of paper notes payable on demand in specie, in lieu of actual specie itself, are modern inventions for facilitating exchanges, and they are the greatest labor-saving machines ever brought to human aid. Their use is not yet fully understood or appreciated, but they are rapidly revolutionizing all methods of exchanges, and this country cannot refuse to recognize their superiority over the clumsy machinery of the last century. The expansion of the use of checks and clearing-houses may be left to the education which our rapidly increasing commerce affords. As to the issue of paper notes, it is generally admitted that the metals should be supplemented by some kind of credit money, to avoid absorbing too much of the actual wealth of the country in the machinery of circulation, and the question arises, under what authority, in what manner, and to what extent these issues shall be made.

The commerce between the several States is of enormous and unrestricted amount, and demands the issue to be uniform in value throughout the country. The policy of removing the tax upon the issue of State banks, and allowing variegated bills of that character, at best never at par, except in the immediate vicinity of their issue, to again flood the country, meets with little favor in any section. There is, also, a general feeling that when the option on the four per cent. bonds expires, the government should not issue in their place bonds of a lower rate on which national banks may continue their circulation.

If there is any gain in issuing notes, there is a demand, not without justice, that it should be shared in by all the citizens of the Republic, not exclusively by the holders of State or National bank stocks.

A Safe But Expensive Policy.

To purchase gold or silver bullion and to issue certificates thereon, dollar for dollar, would not obviate the great objection to a large part of the present circulation, viz.: the useless storing away of too much of the wealth of the country in the vaults of the Treasury, a policy, however safe it may be, which is expensive, as taking out of productive enterprises a needless amount of capital.

The employment of the greenback currency as part of the paper currency since 1879, based upon about thirty per cent. of gold coin or bullion, and the pledge of the faith of the nation to its maintenance at par, has proved satisfactory and economical. By its issue the government has had the use of $246,000,000, the excess of the issue over the reserve, for thirteen years, with no charge except the insignificant appropriation for the manufacture of new notes to take the place of those worn or mutilated. Had the greenbacks been converted at that time into four per cent. bonds and other forms of currency substituted as demanded by many high in authority, the government would already have paid on such bonds to date about $125,000,000 in interest. At present there is outstanding of silver certificates, Treasury notes, gold certificates and national bank notes, $770,000,-

WM. R. MORRISON.

Ex-Congressman from Illinois.

000, and the query arises, why cannot the issue of the greenbacks be extended so as to take the place of these issues, a reserve in specie to be maintained equal to two-thirds of the entire paper circulation, and the faith of the nation to be pledged to keep the notes at par by the sale of bonds, the proceeds to be applied to such maintenance whenever necessary. For thirteen years greenbacks have maintained a specie value, nobody desiring coin for the notes as soon as it was known it could be had upon demand, and there is no reason to suppose that a parity of value cannot be maintained for all the paper circulation, though sustained in part only by the pledged faith of the nation. The amount of circulation needed can be determined only by the necessities of business, but with the privileges of redemption at sight an over-issue of paper would not long remain.

"One-half of Gold and One-half of Silver."

The metallic reserve might with safety consist of one-half of gold and one-half of silver, the latter at its market value, and the notes be redeemed either in gold or its equivalent in silver, under such regulations as may be deemed necessary to keep them at par and to give no advantage to either metal.

Any loss the government might sustain therefrom by a depreciation in the value of either metal would probably be made more than good from the profit in issuing the remaining one-third part of the notes upon the credit of the country as represented by bonds, of which the Secretary should have unques-

foreigners, attracted thither by the fertility and balmy climate of the islands are fast gaining control.

King David Kalakaua.

In 1849, our country made a treaty of commerce and for the extradition of criminals with Hawaii. The reciprocity treaty of 1875 was extended by the convention of 1887, and treaty rights were further confirmed by Act of Congress in 1891. As a result of the treaty of 1875, sugar production was enormously increased in the islands, which fell into the hands of foreigners, who secured virtual control. David Kalakaua was made king of Hawaii in 1874. He was a coarse, gross native of mediocre ability, who was incensed at the sight of the prosperity of the aliens, which was denied to his native subjects. He identified himself with the reactionary party who demanded that Hawaii should belong to Hawaiians, but in 1887, the progressive party, after secret preparations, overawed the king and compelled him to give them a liberal constitution, which not only bestowed the right of suffrage upon foreigners, but cut down the slender authority of the king to a mere shadow.

Queen Liliuokalani.

In 1891, while Kalakaua was in San Francisco negotiating a treaty of reciprocity with the United States, he died, and his sister Liliuokalani became queen. Her character was no better than that of her late brother. In January, 1893, believing the time favorable, she called the legislature together and sub-

LORD SALISBURY.

Prime Minister of England.

mitted a new constitution, which took away the right of voting from non-naturalized foreigners, and gave back to the crown the power of making nobles. Much against her will, she was persuaded to modify her purpose and announce by proclamation that no changes would be made in the fundamental law, except in conformity with the old constitution.

Revolution.

The action of Liliuokalani alarmed the white residents, who did not know what the next step of the revengeful queen would be. The Americans appealed to the United States man-of-war "Boston," lying at Honolulu, for protection. The landing of the troops precipitated a revolution. The queen was deposed and a provisional government organized, with Sanford B. Dole as President, the announcement being made that it was to prevail until the island should be annexed to the United States. The government was recognized by the United States minister, and the queen, being left with no choice, surrendered to the "superior forces of the United States of America."

The natives and some of the white residents were opposed to the new government, which was placed under the protection of the United States. A force of marines were drawn up in front of the government building and the Stars and Stripes displayed. President Harrison felt compelled to disavow the protectorate, but authorized the presence of an armed force sufficient to protect the American citizens.

Commissioners were sent to this country to negotiate for a treaty of annexation. Satisfactory terms were readily made, a liberal pension being guaranteed to the deposed queen and a large sum to her daughter. President Harrison, in submitting this treaty to the Senate, insisted that the United States had given no help in bringing about the revolution and that it was important that none of the great Powers should obtain the islands.

Reversal of Policy.

Matters were progressing thus favorably, when President Cleveland came into office. He made a complete reversal of policy. His theory was that the United States forces had been wrongfully used in helping to depose the queen and that justice demanded her reinstatement. He withdrew the treaty from the Senate and sent Hon. James H. Blount to Hawaii, as special commissioner. Under his orders, the protectorate was formally terminated April 1st, the American flag hauled down and the marines withdrawn. Former Minister Stephens was recalled and Mr. Blount became minister plenipotentiary. Then Albert S. Willis was sent as minister to the islands with instructions to learn what could be done to place the queen again upon the throne. This could not be accomplished except by force, and the President could not summon that without the sanction of Congress, which was refused, for Congress and the country at large were strongly opposed to the President's policy.

A futile effort was made by the friends of the

queen in her behalf, but it came to nothing and the new government became more firmly established than before. At the close of the year 1893, Liliuokalani publicly declared herself in favor of annexation to the United States. Thus the matter stands, but we repeat that the question must soon become an important one for Americans to consider. Other nations would be glad to secure the interesting and valuable country (notably England, whose "earth hunger" is insatiate), and to prevent such a serious mistake on our part, it must soon be annexed to the United States.

The Transvaal Question.

The United States has no direct interest in the Transvaal or South African question, but the interests of England and this country are so closely interwoven that whatever affects one must, in a greater or less degree, affect the other. So when a speck of war, if not actual war itself, appeared in the southern portion of the Dark Continent, with the well-founded fear that more than one of the great Powers might become involved, we could not fail to feel a natural interest in the situation.

England is always on the alert for the acquirement of new possessions, her eagerness increasing as the value of the territory becomes apparent. The remarkable development of Africa during the last few years has attracted the attention of the leading nations, and, as is well known, more than one of them have acquired valuable territory. England has long been the owner of Cape Colony, at the southern end

of the continent. The prime minister of Cape Colony is Cecil Rhodes, the head of the South African Chartered Company, to which England has intrusted her political and industrial interests in that section.

Dr. Jameson.

To the north of Cape Colony expands the prodigious Dark Continent, and immediately adjoining it is a vast country which for some time had attracted the attention of Rhodes. He appointed Dr. Jameson, an active and courageous man, to act as his agent in this territory. The Transvaal, or South African Republic, belongs to the Boers or Dutch farmers, whose forefathers first settled at the Cape and then moved to the northward with the object of placing themselves beyond contact with the detested Englishmen, whose aggressiveness was intolerable. The English continued edging nearer them, while the Dutch gathered their goods together and moved again, until, losing patience, they determined to stay where they were and fight, if necessary, for their homes.

The next move of the English was what might have been expected: they attempted to "annex" the Dutch territory, but the sturdy Dutchmen met them in open battle and proved themselves the better soldiers. Their marksmanship was wonderful, and they mowed down the regulars with such fearful effect that the effort to conquer them was given over and the independent Dutch Republic became an established fact. One of the terms, however, upon

PAUL KRÜGER.

President of the South African Republic.

which peace was made, in 1884, was that, in all its relations with foreign countries, the Dutch Republic should regard the wishes of Great Britain.

Discovery of Gold in the Transvaal.

Everything promised well and doubtless there would have been no trouble had not gold been discovered in the Transvaal. The deposits in the "Rand" were exceptionally rich and the mines extensive. The avarice of England was excited and every one knew that she would not be long in finding a pretext for interfering with her neighbor, with the ultimate view of gaining possession of her valuable gold fields.

The Boers are but a handful as compared with the English population in South Africa. All told, they do not number 20,000 men. They live the life of farmers, with their homes widely scattered, but they are patriotic, detest Englishmen, and are ready to fight at any time for their rights. The skill of these men with the rifle, as we have intimated, approaches the marvelous.

The capital of the South African Republic is the little town of Pretoria. The gold excitement brought thousands of adventurers into the country, until they outnumbered the Boers four to one. The Boers called them "Uitlanders," and among them was a considerable sprinkling of Americans. They resembled in many respects the horde of gold seekers who flocked to California "in the days of '49."

To the south of Pretoria lies the city of Johannes-

burg, whose population grew so fast that to-day it probably contains a hundred thousand inhabitants. The people complained (and it would seem with some reason) that the Boers would not allow the English language to be taught in the schools nor permit the Uitlanders to vote or take part in the government. On the other hand it must be remembered that a two years' residence was sufficient for the foreigners to secure the right of naturalization, and few indeed of them would be willing to give up their citizenship at home and swear allegiance to the government of the Dutch Republic.

Dr. Jameson's Raid.

The strain grew more tense, and, as a matter of precaution, Cecil Rhodes allowed Dr. Jameson to approach the border of the Republic with an armed force, not, as he declared, to promote a revolution, but to protect life and property in the outbreak which he clearly saw impended. If this was the real purpose of Rhodes, his act must be commended, but many doubt the assertion of the prime minister of Cape Colony.

The impetuous Jameson had not been long on the border, when messengers came to him with word that the Uitlanders in Johannesburg were in imminent danger of their lives, and he was begged to go to their relief without an instant's unnecessary delay. Jameson decided to do as he had been besought to do, and, to prevent Cecil Rhodes from countermanding his movements, he cut the telegraph wires,

thus rendering it impossible for any communication to reach him. Then he and his horsemen dashed into the Transvaal and headed for Johannesburg.

The Result of Jameson's Raid.

The result is known. The cowardly Uitlanders refused to raise a hand to help the man who had come in answer to their appeal, and the Boers, with their old time courage and unerring marksmanship, cut down the invaders and pressed them so hard that in the end the survivors were compelled to surrender unconditionally. Paul Krüger is the Dutch President of the South African Republic. He treated his prisoners with consideration, and in no instance punished them as he would have been justified in doing. He heeded the appeals made to him from England, and in behalf of prisoners of other nationalities who had fallen into his hands, and showed himself to be not only humane, but unusually shrewd and sagacious.

These are the facts, as they appear on the surface, but the reader does not need to be reminded that diplomacy is generally another name for lying, and the most perfect models of hypocrisy are official communications between governments. England promptly disavowed the Transvaal invasion, called the Chartered Company to account, superseded Dr. Jameson in his office as administrator, gave suitable assurances to President Krüger, while Cecil Rhodes resigned his prime ministership of Cape Colony. Thereupon Krüger turned over Jameson and his other prisoners

for England to deal with as offenders against her laws, in that they had invaded the territory of a nation with which that country was at peace.

Enthusiasm in England.

All know the enthusiasm which was awakened in Great Britain by the news of the unwarrantable raid. The new poet laureate made a desperate effort to earn his salary by giving the public some doggerel, entitled "Jameson's Ride," and when the hero and his partisans landed in London the overjoyed populace almost mobbed them in the excess of their enthusiasm.

There are those who believe that a perfect understanding existed between Rhodes and Jameson, and some even maintain that the English Government was cognizant of what was about to be done. Had Jameson been successful, no reward would have been too great for him, for nothing succeeds like success, while, as the French say, "it was worse than a crime, for it was a blunder."

It is not probable that any serious difficulty will arise between the Transvaal and the English Government. No doubt Krüger will demand a big indemnity, which will have to be paid by the British South African Chartered Company. As to the future, the foreigners will soon be so overwhelming in numbers that the Boers will be forced to terms, and the Transvaal, at no distant day, must become a dependency of the British Empire, as are Canada and Australia.

"CHICAGO," U. S. N., ONE OF THE NEW "WHITE SQUADRON" WARSHIPS.

The Monroe Doctrine—The Dispute over the Venezuelan Boundary.

The dispute in which Venezuela has become involved with Great Britain is one that has a more direct concern for us than the South African quarrel, for connected with the former is the possibility of a war with England.

America was discovered by Columbus, who sailed under the flag of Spain and whose three caravels were manned by Spanish sailors. Spain, at that time, was a powerful nation and she followed up the advantage accruing from the great discovery. Her explorers formed a procession across the Atlantic and they penetrated many portions of our continent. Wherever they went, they carried fire and the sword. They were fierce, cruel, merciless, and slaughtered the helpless natives like so many wild beasts. It was a blessed day for North America when they were driven from the country.

South American Republics Free.

Spain naturally turned her attention to the warmer portions, leaving France, England and Holland to wrangle over the colder regions. Thus she virtually acquired Central and South America. She ruled with a rod of iron, and when she grew weaker at home, her colonies on this side of the Atlantic seized the occasion to declare their independence. This was in the early years of the present century. The struggle went on, but one by one the South American republics gained their freedom, until the grand victory was complete. The United States deeply

sympathized with the patriots, and our nation was the first to recognize and give them its fullest moral support.

"The Balance of Power."

When the great Napoleon was overthrown, France, Russia, Prussia and Austria formed an alliance for preserving the "balance of power" and for suppressing revolutions within one another's dominions. This being at the time the Spanish South American colonies were in revolt, there was a strong suspicion that the alliance intended to unite in their reduction. George Canning, the English Secretary of State, proposed to our country that we should unite with England in preventing such an outrage against civilization. It was a momentous question, and President Monroe consulted with Jefferson, Madison, Calhoun and John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, before making answer. The decision being reached, President Monroe embodied in his annual message to Congress in December, 1823, a clause which formulated what has ever since been known as the "Monroe Doctrine." It was written by John Quincy Adams, and, referring to the intervention of the allied Powers, said that we "should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety;" and further, "that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Powers."

This is the famous and revered Monroe Doctrine, and singular as it may seem, it was first suggested by Great Britain, to whom it has afterward proved more than once specially obnoxious.

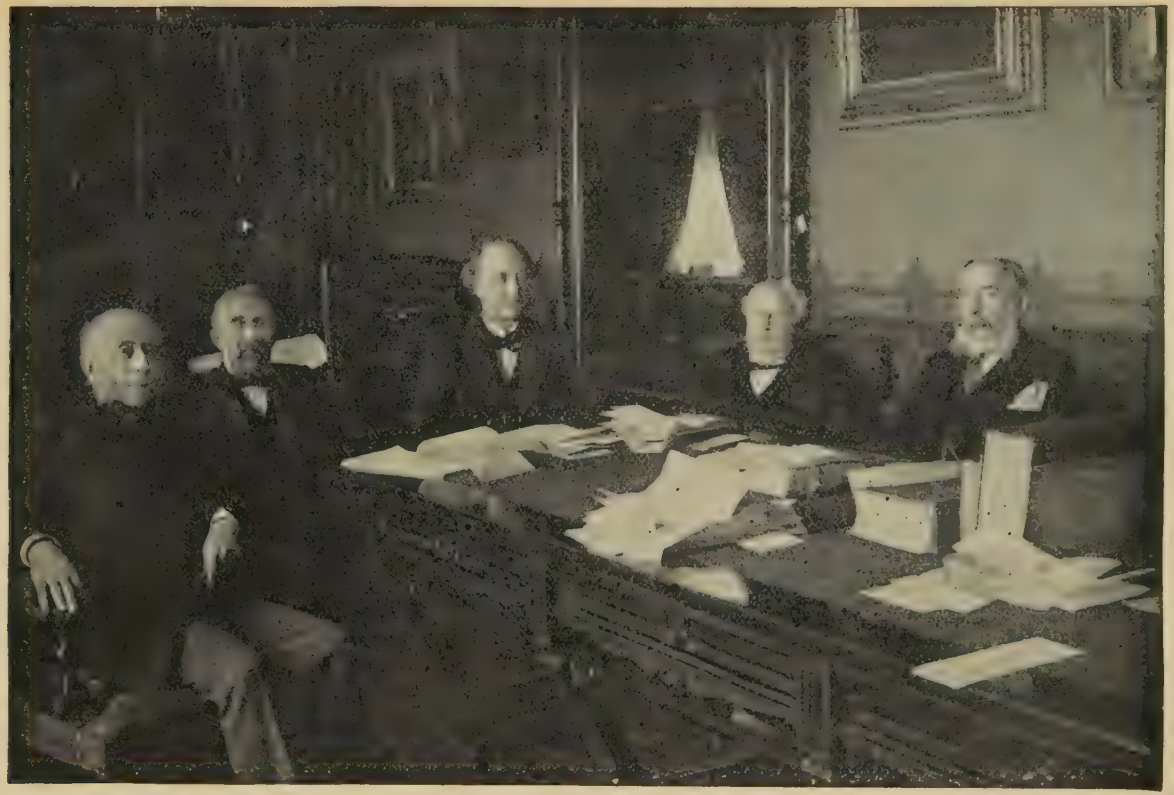
A French Empire in Mexico.

As an instance of its enforcement may be cited the case of Maximilian. Persuaded by the vicious adventurer and foe of our country, Napoleon III., to attempt the establishment of a French empire in Mexico, he was left undisturbed for the time, for the reason that we had our hands full in waging the War for the Union.

When that tremendous struggle was over, prompt notice was served upon Napoleon that he and his armies must vacate Mexico. He lost no time in abandoning Maximilian to his fate, and had he not done so, he would have received a trouncing as complete as that administered to him by Germany a few years later.

The Venezuelan Question.

Along the northeast coast of South America, between the mouths of the Amazon and the Orinoco, stretches a territory, which previous to 1810 was known as the Guianas. In that year, a large portion came into the possession of Venezuela, as the successor in ownership of Spain. Four years later, Holland ceded a part to Great Britain. The boundary line between Dutch and English Guiana was not clearly set forth, and before long a dispute broke out which remains unsettled to this day. In 1887, the



COUDERT. WHITE. BREWER. ALVEY. GILMAN.

VENEZUELAN COMMISSION.

Appointed by President Cleveland, January, 1896, to determine the true boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela.

dispute reached a point which forced the severance of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Venezuela.

Venezuela claims all territory west of the Essequibo river, and south to the border of Brazil, and has solid historical facts in her favor. Prior to 1840, England had not advanced westward beyond the Pomaron river, but she did so in the latter part of that year, and set up a claim to the entire Atlantic coast as far as the Orinoco delta. In 1841, Sir Robert Schomburgk, the English commissioner, erected the boundary known since as the Schomburgk line. Venezuela lost no time in protesting, and the frontier marks thus placed at Barima in the Orinoco region were destroyed. In 1844, England proposed a boundary line beginning a short distance west of the Pomaron river, and in 1881, she once more extended her claims westward so as to take in both the valleys of the Pomaron and the Orinoco. Five years later, she claimed territory to the banks of the Guiana river, and in 1890 proposed a divisional line which gave her practical control of the Orinoco delta. The last British proposal was made in 1893, and varied in some particulars.

Arbitration.

The United States anxiously watched this dispute, and more than once tendered its offices in the way of arbitration. These were refused, for the discovery of rich gold fields in the disputed region awoke the avarice of England, as it did in South Africa.

An examination of the map will show that the ex-

treme claim of Great Britain includes all the territory through which flow the rivers emptying into the Essequibo, while Venezuela insists that the Essequibo should form the western boundary of British Guiana. It was in 1886 that England declared she would consider no Venezuelan claim east of the Schomburgk line, and to this policy she had adhered to the present time. She claims further that she has 40,000 subjects within the disputed territory, whom she is bound to protect.

It is not worth our while to give the correspondence which passed between Great Britain and this country over Venezuela. The thunder-clap came on December 17, 1895, when President Cleveland submitted to Congress the correspondence that had passed between the British and the United States Governments, accompanied by a special message in which he asked Congress for authority to appoint a commission to investigate and determine the merits of the boundary question, in order that the Government might be able to decide upon the proper course of action.

A Commission Appointed.

"When such report is made and accepted," said the President, "it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist, by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any land or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any

territory which, after investigation, we have determined of right belongs to Venezuela."

Congress enthusiastically endorsed the position of President Cleveland. The bill of Representative Hitt of Illinois, appropriating $100,000 for the expenses of the commission unanimously passed the House December 18. The Senate was less impulsive, but two days later it unanimously passed the same bill as it came from the House.

Under the authority thus granted, President Cleveland, on the 1st of January, 1896, announced the commission as follows:

David J. Brewer, Republican, of Kansas, associate justice of the supreme court of the United States, elected president. He is the son of a missionary, and was born in Smyrna, Asia Minor, was graduated at Yale College in 1856, and at the Albany (N. Y.) Law School. In 1862–65 he was judge of the probate and criminal courts of Leavenworth, Kansas, and in 1865–69 of the district court. He was elected justice of the State supreme court in 1870, 1876 and 1882, and was made judge of the United States circuit court for the Eighth District in 1884. He was appointed by President Harrison to succeed the late Stanley Matthews on the United States supreme court bench in 1889.

Richard H. Alvey, Democrat, of Maryland, chief-justice of the court of appeals of the District of Columbia. He was born in St. Mary's county, Md., and was imprisoned for a time in Fort Warren during the war. He was very active in reorganizing the Demo-

cratic party, was elected chief judge of the Fourth circuit under the new constitution, and re-elected in 1882. He resigned the office of chief-justice of the Maryland court of appeals to accept the office of chief-justice of the Federal court of appeals of the District of Columbia. Judge Alvey is a profound student of history and a master of the Spanish language.

Daniel C. Gilman, of Maryland, president of Johns Hopkins University. He was born in Connecticut in 1831, and was graduated at Yale, has traveled widely and is a distinguished educator. He was elected first president of Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore, in 1875. He is one of the best scientists and historians in the country. He has no strong party leanings, but is mildly inclined to the principles of the Republican party.

Andrew D. White, Republican, of New York, ex-president of Cornell University and ex-minister to Germany and Russia. He was born in Homer, N. Y., in 1832, was graduated at Yale, and from 1857 to 1862 was professor of history and English literature in the University of Michigan, and from 1863 to 1866 was a member of the senate of his native State. He was elected in 1867 first president of Cornell University, resigning because of ill health in 1885. He was minister to Germany, 1879–81, and minister to Russia, 1892–94. He has written much on educational subjects, and has made liberal contributions to Cornell University.

Frederick R. Coudert, Democrat, of New York. He is among the foremost members of the New

JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN.

Colonial Secretary of England.

York bar and was one of the counsel of the United States before the Behring Sea tribunal of arbitration in Paris, in 1893.

It will thus be seen that the personnel of the boundary commission is of the highest order That the members will investigate calmly, dispassionately and thoroughly there can be no question, and when their decision is announced it must command respect at home and abroad. What then will follow remains to be seen.

"Jingoism" and Sober Second Thought.

It may be unsafe to attempt a prophecy of the final outcome of this sudden flurry which for a time set every one talking as to the probabilities of a war with Great Britain. There is a great deal of "jingoism" in both countries, but fortunately there is also a sober second thought which is sure to make itself heard and felt before such an awful calamity can desolate the world. England at first resented what she looked upon as an act of impertinence on our part, but the signs indicate that when the proper time comes she will make the most graceful retreat possible. Lord Salisbury has promised to submit the "Blue Book," containing the English case, to the commission. This is an important step toward conciliation. England will see, too, when the work is completed, that there has not been the slightest unfriendly bias against her. The commission will not report until it is fully prepared, and, if its verdict is friendly to the claims of Great Britain, it will speak in no ambiguous terms. The same is true if ex-

hausting research obliges the commission to decide the other way. At any rate, when the decision is made, it must command such universal respect and confidence that the enlightened judgment of England will compel its acceptance, and another threatening war cloud will dissolve and melt away in the blessed sunshine of peace and fraternity.

The Cuban Revolt.

The struggle in Cuba comes nearer "home" to us in every sense of the word. There are few Americans, indeed, whose warmest sympathies do not go out to those gallant patriots struggling to throw off the galling yoke of one of the most tyrannical governments that ever devastated any land. The war for independence in Cuba resembles in many respects the sufferings, hardships and sacrifices of our own forefathers in the dark days of the Revolution. The atrocious rule of Spain in America, where she once overshadowed all the other nations, has caused her colonies to writhe from her grasp one by one, until the "Queen of the Antilles" is the only one left, and that sooner or later, she, too, will be free, is one of the absolute certainties of the future.

Let us try as briefly as possible to gain an intelligent idea of events in Cuba, which it must be remembered is a large island 720 miles long, with an average width of 60 miles, with an area equal to one-half of all the other West India islands together. Cuba has long been a favorite field for filibusters. From 1849 to 1852, three such expeditions were

made from this country, incited by Narcisso Lopez, a South American adventurer, who made Governor Quitman of Mississippi and other Southerners believe that Cuba was ready for revolt and annexation to the United States. All these expeditions failed and Lopez was executed by the Cuban authorities.

Pathetic and Dramatic Incidents.

Many pathetic and dramatic incidents marked these spasmodic attempts at revolution. The death of W. L. Crittenden, son of the attorney-general of the United States, was heroic. He was a graduate of West Point and resigned a colonelcy in the army, in 1851, that he might aid the Cubans in their struggle for liberty. He succeeded in landing on the coast of the island and was left with 150 men to guard the baggage and ammunition, while Lopez with a large body of men marched into the interior. Lopez was attacked before he had gone far and compelled to surrender, his execution quickly following. An overwhelming assault was then made upon Crittenden, who, after a most desperate resistance, was captured. He and the survivors were taken to Havana and without trial condemned to die on August 16, 1851. An immense crowd gathered to witness the execution. The prisoners were ordered to kneel, facing a stone wall and with their backs toward the soldiers, a few paces distant. When the command was given to Crittenden, he wheeled about and standing erect said:

"A Kentuckian never turns his back on an enemy

and kneels only to his God!" He refused to obey the order and was shot dead as he stood.

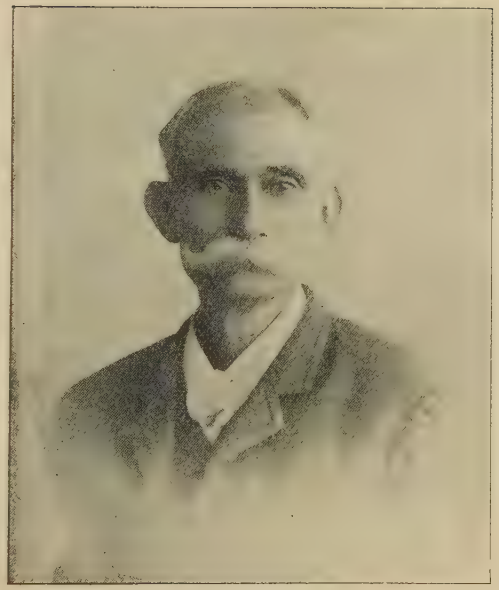
Other filibustering expeditions have been made to the country, and several times the Cubans have revolted against Spain, but in every instance she has crushed the rebellion with a bloody and merciless hand.

The Provinces of Cuba.

Cuba is divided into six provinces. Pinar del Rio, the farthest west, and Havana, the capital province, remained loyal to Spain and were less disturbed at first than the other provinces. The seeds of revolt bore fruit in Matanzas, while Santa Clara, Puerto Principe and Santiago de Cuba, to the east, were filled with rebels and their sympathizers. Thus the eastern half of the island was in the flames of insurrection, which burned fiercely through the central portion, and up to the walls of Havana itself.

The Insurrection of 1895.

The insurrection broke out in the latter part of February, 1895. The situation became so critical that with the authority of the home Government the governor-general proclaimed martial law. At the same time Jose Marti and General Maximo Gomez arrived in the island. The former had been nominated by the revolutionary junta to be the head of the provisional Government, while Gomez was to take chief command of the insurgent forces. There were two rallying points for the rebels, one in the province



MAXIMO GOMEZ.
General-in-Chief of the Cuban Army.

JÓSE ANTONIO MACEO.
Lieutenant-General in the Cuban Army.

of Matanzas, in the western end, and the other in the province of Santiago, in the eastern end.

At the beginning there was little organization among the rebels, but as time passed, discipline came and the object of the patriots was clearly defined. They had among them a number of skilled officers, who, like many of the privates, had been active in former revolts, and were full of ardor for the liberty of their native land.

One plan of the patriots was to establish free communication among themselves, through every part of the island, and to press as near Havana, the headquarters of the loyalists, as possible. The outlook for success was more promising than ever before, and never was the enthusiasm among the Cubans and their friends at so high a point. Money was liberally gathered in New York, and from many of the leading cities of the United States, arms, ammunition, supplies, and brave men were shipped to Cuba, most of them managing to elude the vigilance of the Spanish cruisers and to join the insurgents, who, in early autumn, had an army numbering fully 30,000 in the field. This was in two divisions, the eastern commanded by General Maceo, while the western, occupying the province of Puerto Principe, was under General Gomez. The Spanish army was more than double in numbers, though the force available was about equal to that of the insurgents.

Marshal Martinez de Campos.

The Spanish troops were under the command of

Marshal Martinez de Campos, probably the ablest general in Spain. His plan was to march eastward from Havana, clearing out the rebels as far as the province of Santiago de Cuba; but insurmountable difficulties interfered with his purpose. The insurgents were familiar with the ground, were skilled in the use of arms, thoroughly acclimated and abounding with patriotic ardor. The Spanish soldiers were neither inured to the trying climate, nor familiar with the rough country through which they had to fight their way.

Meanwhile, Spain was in financial straits, but after a time secured a large loan and announced its determination to crush the rebellion at whatever cost of life and treasure. Reinforcements were sent to Cuba, and it was plain that the home Government would never loosen her grip upon the throat of her last American possession until her hand was pried loose.

Cubans Appoint a Permanent Government.

The Cubans appointed a permanent Government in October and adopted a constitution. The President was Salvador Cisnero, Vice-President, Bartolome Masso, with Carlos Roloff secretary of war, Maximo Gomez general-in-chief, and Antonio Maceo his lieutenant-general. In this new Government five of the six provinces were represented.

Since October there have been many skirmishes and battles between the Spanish troops and the insurgents, with the preponderating advantage in favor of the latter. General Campos, being recalled by

the home Government, was succeeded by General Weyler, characterized by many as the "butcher," because of his cruelty to prisoners. He has probably done all that any one could do under the circumstances, but to-day the suppression of the insurrection appears to be further off than ever. The winter time is the only season when the Spanish troops can work effectively, and now that warm weather has come, any material success upon their part is impossible, until the sultry weather gives way to the cooler breezes of autumn, if indeed the independence of the island is not secured before that date.

The Pronounced Friendship of Congress for Cuba.

Spain has taken great offence at the pronounced friendship of Congress for Cuba. Resolutions of sympathy have met with the most ardent support, and beyond a doubt, the overwhelming majority in both branches, in favor of the struggling patriots, is only an echo of the feelings of the great American nation itself. While not a few urge active interference in behalf of Cuba, with the certainty of a war with Spain. the majority favor the granting of belligerent rights to the insurgents. The advantage of such congressional action is clearly set forth in the speech which Representative Hitt made in the House April 3, 1896, when he called up the report of the Conference Committee on the Cuban resolutions, which report recommended the adoption of the following resolutions as passed by the Senate :

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of Congress a condition of public war exists between the Government of Spain and the Government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba; and that the United States of America should maintain a strict neutrality between the contending Powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States.

"*Resolved*, Further, that the friendly offices of the United States should be offered by the President to the Spanish Government for the recognition of the independence of Cuba."

Mr. Hitt said it was true that the second resolution as adopted by the House was in more cautious form than that now proposed, and Spain, unless persistently seeking a quarrel, could not have resented such a proposition, while the resolution of the Senate proposing independence was more exposed to captious objection. But when a war between a parent Government and a dependency had been going on for a considerable time, and when separation was the best solution of the war, the mediation or friendly counsel of another nation to solve an existing struggle by recognizing independence might be a truly friendly act, and this in fact has often been done. In cases almost precisely parallel to this, when Spain was at war with her dependencies on this continent in the early part of this century, our Government had taken the very step proposed in this second resolution.

Recognition of Beligerency.

The immediate recognition of belligerency was a far more important and practical question. That was the point covered by the first resolution both of the Senate and of the House. In mere bulk, the petitions

presented to Congress favoring this course had exceeded those upon any other subject for years.

On the other side, individual members, especially of the committee charged with this subject, had received letters from citizens deprecating any action whatever. These letters were almost always from those who called themselves business men—brokers and financial men—who were opposed to any agitation or discussion of a foreign question, and seemed to care very little about either the Cubans or Spaniards, but chiefly about the market.

The unmistakable voice of the people of the United States, as expressed in the enormous majority given in the House—262 to 17—was in favor of recognizing the belligerency of the Cubans. It was against this that all Spanish influences in this country were most strenuously exerted. It was to this hope of recognition of belligerency that all friends of Cuba turned. The reason was plain. It would be of inestimable assistance to the Cuban cause. It would give them a flag; it would give them a status in the world. If they procured a vessel and entered New York harbor to-morrow with their lone star flag, they would be liable to be treated as pirates. The Spanish Minister would immediately claim that this should be done, but, with a recognized flag, they could enter as the ships from all countries do. They could buy munitions of war openly. They could buy supplies of every kind. Men could go openly, if not in armed expeditions, to join them. They could negotiate loans—negotiate them as openly as the Spaniards could do now.

What Have we Done for the Cubans?

The Spanish Government now buys munitions of war at Hartford and at Philadelphia, buys supplies,

loads ships—in fact, the United States is to-day the base of operations in a furious war to crush those who are struggling for liberty, and our Government has been busied for a year in obeying the intimations of the Spanish Minister that they could in this port, or in that, catch some one trying to carry arms or aid to Cuba. We had not even confined our assistance to our own ports, but in the case of the "Hawkins" we pursued the Cubans out upon the high seas at the behest of Spain.

"Is this fairness?" Mr. Hitt asked. "Is this justice? Is this observing neutrality in this struggle? Either in spirit or in fact, are we not efficient oppressors of the Cubans?"

Was not the success of the Cubans now probable? Mr. Hitt continued. For a year they had baffled the armies of Spain. In a recent statement by the Spanish Minister, addressed to the people of the United States, he said that Spain had sent 125,000 men to Cuba. With this great army more than forty war vessels had been co-operating to shut the Cubans in and subdue them. Far from being subdued, they had fought on successfully for a year, each month and each week pressing forward, bringing province after province under their power, until their authority had extended over 600 miles from the eastern to the western end of the island, and the Spanish forces are to-day largely penned in the cities.

The Spanish newspaper organs had been constantly claiming that the republic had no capital, and that if one were pretended they would at once capture it. But, said Mr. Hitt, we see publications from Cisnero, the President of the Cuban republic, at Cubitas, their capital, which they have held undisturbed for nearly a year—undisturbed because they defied Spanish power—while the despatches in the papers give ac-

counts of engagements in the environs of Havana. It looks from this distance as if General Weyler, in Havana, had more cause to be uneasy than President Cisnero in his capital of Cubitas.

This is a far greater war than the ten years' war of 1868 to 1878, with which it is so often compared. That was confined to the eastern end of the island. The revolutionists never established their power far from the province of Santiago. The armies of Gomez and Maceo, working in perfect harmony, have fought their way steadily through province after province until they have come into Pinar del Rio, at the western end of the island. The political and military organization has been harmonious, effective and victorious from the first. It is exactly what President Monroe called "a movement of such a steady and consistent form as to make success probable." And now, as in the time of Monroe, they should have extended to them the rights to which they are entitled by the law of nations as equal parties to a civil war.

Two-thirds of the Population of European Origin.

Mr. Hitt said, in conclusion: "It is sometimes objected that we ought not to encourage the Cubans to separate Government, as they would simply enter upon anarchy and successive revolutions, as so often has happened with other Spanish-American colonies. But, in fact, Cuba differs from all the others, except Chili, in that two-thirds of its population are of European origin. Chili and Cuba are the only two spots in Spanish America where the Spanish race colonized in the fashion in which the Anglo-Saxon colonized—by transplanting their people and building up their own race. Chili has been for fifty years conspicuous in South America for ability and energy. Her securities were good in European markets forty years

ago. The million white people of Cuba, once organized into an independent government, will soon settle into stable conditions and enter upon a career of prosperity.

We have no Debt of Gratitude to Spain.

"It is our duty to treat them to-day with fairness, to observe a neutrality that is real. Americans who are descendants of those who struggled through a contest against tyranny like that to-day in Cuba should not be false to the memory of their fathers, nor to the tradition and spirit of their history. We are under no obligations to favor Spain and oppression as against Cuba and freedom. Remember how Spain invaded and seized upon San Domingo when the United States was engaged in the war of the Rebellion. It was disclosed in the debates in the Spanish Cortes afterwards that that occupation of San Domingo was entered upon expressly to thwart the influence of the United States and prevent our obtaining a station at Samana. It was in this spirit that Spain so early recognized the belligerency of the Confederates, a month before blood was shed in battle. It was done in co-operation with Louis Napoleon who, also pursuing the same scheme of oppression, took advantage of our troubles to overthrow the Republic of Mexico and set up an empire there. We have no debt of gratitude, and should be influenced by no sentiments but those of justice and that enlightened self-interest which is the true guide in the policy of nations.

"When this vote has been given, as it will be overwhelmingly by this House, concurring with the Senate in expressing the will of the people of the United States, we cannot doubt that the Executive will act and obey the voice of the nation, and that we will speedily hear that the President has recognized the

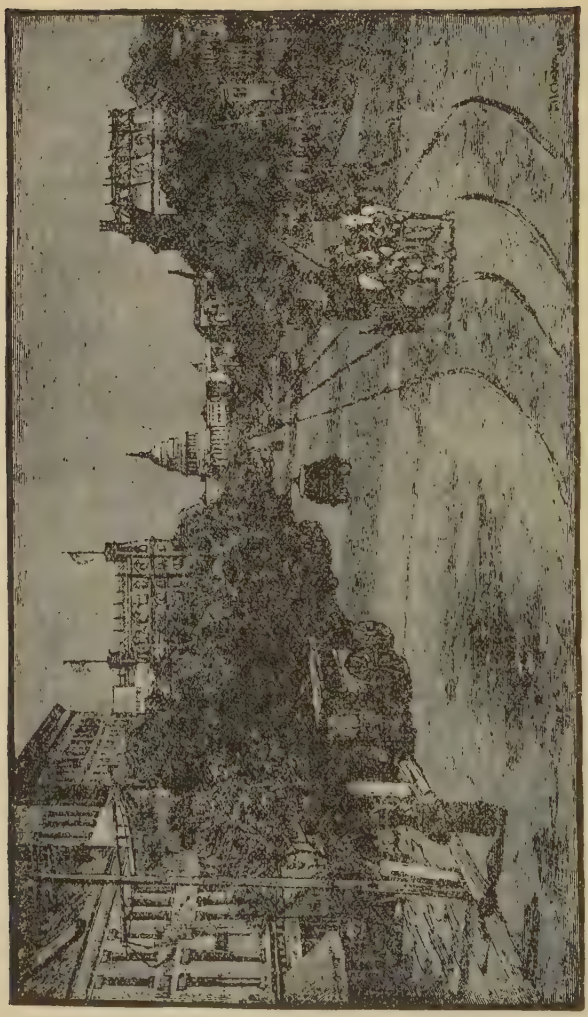
DARING ATTACK BY THE PATRIOTS OF CUBA UPON A FORT NEAR VUELTAS.

belligerency of the struggling Cubans. The waning cause of Spain has been apparent from week to week for two months past. It will not be long until we shall have an end of all the bombastic pretensions and abominations of Weyler's savage operations, and the Cubans, having vindicated their rights with their arms, will enjoy the liberty they have earned."

Mr. Hitt was interrupted by Mr. Patterson (Dem., Tenn.), who asked what proportion of the 1,600,000 population in Cuba had engaged in the movement to secure the independence of the island.

Mr. Hitt stated that a communication to the House from the Secretary of State showed that the number of troops in the field last August was 30,000, one-third of whom were well armed. Since coming to the House to-day, Mr. Hitt said he had received a statement made by Mr. Rappleye, the correspondent of the New York *Mail and Express*, who had just returned from Cuba, which showed that the Cuban army now numbered over 60,000 men.

On the 6th of April, the House of Representatives adopted the Senate resolutions, by the emphatic vote of 245 to 27, thus voicing in unmistakable terms the sentiment of the American nation on the burning question of Cuban independence, and while no decisive step has as yet been taken by the United States Government, the sentiment of our people has crystallized, and the fact has been established beyond all question that "Cuba libre" is a certainty of the near future.



PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, LOOKING TOWARD THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON.

Political Giants of the Present Day.

BY EDWARD S. ELLIS, A. M.,

Author of "Standard History of the United States."

BENJAMIN HARRISON,

SOLDIER, ORATOR AND STATESMAN.

When General William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe and of more than one important battle of the war of 1812, succumbed to the torments which beset every President of the United States, and suddenly died one month after his inauguration, he left a grandson named Benjamin, not quite eight years old, who was the third son of John Scott Harrison, and was born at North Bend, Ohio, August 20, 1833. His father was the owner of a large farm, where the son toiled while a boy, and laid the foundation of the rugged health and strength which stood him so well in after years.

The first school which Benjamin Harrison attended was kept in a log building, where, so far as is known, he was neither a dull nor an unusually bright pupil. It may have been too early in life for him to display the ability which afterward carried him to the highest office in the gift of his countrymen. He was fortu-

nate in having a sensible parent, who, knowing the value of education, sent him at the age of fifteen to Farmers' (now Belmont) College, near Cincinnati. He remained two years and then became a student at Miami University, Oxford, where he attracted attention by his skill as a debater and orator.

Harrison's Marriage.

While a law student, he made the acquaintance of Miss Caroline L. Scott, a most estimable young woman, and daughter of the president of the University. The two formed a strong, mutual attachment, and were married in 1853, before Harrison had attained his majority. He was graduated in 1852, fourth in his class.

Sterling Integrity and Marked Ability.

He entered the law office of Storer & Gwynne, and shortly after was admitted to the bar. Moving to Indianapolis in the following year, he began to practice, and has made that city his home ever since. Clients were not numerous, nor were fees large, but those who employed young Harrison found him conscientious, devoted to their interests, and possessed of sterling integrity and marked ability. He was prompt and kept his promises. A lawyer of that kind is sure to succeed.

Harrison Becomes a Soldier.

In 1855, he entered into partnership with William Wallace, but six years later that gentleman was

elected county clerk and Harrison associated himself with W. P. Fishback. When fairly started upon what was a most promising career, his patriotism led him into the military service of his country, where he made a fine record. He was mustered in as Second Lieutenant, July 14, 1862, as Captain eight days later, and then, August 7th, as Colonel of the 170th regiment of infantry, the term of enlistment being for three years. He commanded his regiment until the 20th of August, 1863; the second brigade of the third division, reserve corps, until September 20, 1863; his regiment again to January 9, 1864, and the first brigade, third division, twentieth army corps, to September 23, 1864, on which date he was detailed for special duty in Indiana. Returning to duty in the field he was ordered in November, 1864, to report in person to the general commanding at Nashville, Tenn. He afterward commanded the first brigade, provisional division, Army of the Cumberland, to January 16, 1865, when upon his own request, he was relieved and directed to rejoin his command, which was then at Savannah, Georgia, under General Sherman. On his way thither, he was stricken with what threatened to be a fatal illness, but, rallying, he pressed on. He was not yet fully recovered and was placed in command of the camp for convalescents and recruits at Blair's Landing, South Carolina. He soon after joined General Sherman at Raleigh, where he resumed command of the first brigade, third division, twentieth army corps, April 21, 1865, and was relieved therefrom June 8th, because of the muster-

ing out of the troops composing it. On the same day he was mustered out and honorably discharged.

Harrison's Record in the Field.

As we have said, General Harrison made a most creditable record in the field. "Little Ben" quickly won the reputation of being a brave man and a skilful leader. He was very popular with his own men and with the general officers. His regiment had no superior in effectiveness and discipline. He was in action at Russellville, Kentucky, and in the numerous severe engagements of the Atlanta campaign, and was present at the surrender of General Jo Johnston, at Durham's Station, North Carolina, April 26, 1865. Fighting Jo Hooker considered Harrison without a superior as a regimental and brigade commander, and it was at his request that, January 23, 1865, he was breveted Brigadier-General of volunteers, "for ability and manifest energy and gallantry in command of a brigade."

He had already won a fine reputation as a lawyer in Indianapolis. He was elected in 1860 reporter of the Supreme Court, but the office was vacated by his enlistment. He was overwhelmingly re-elected in 1864, while absent in the field. At the close of the term, he had a lucrative practice, and was retained in nearly all the important cases in his State. In 1876, Godlove S. Orth, Republican candidate for Governor, withdrew during the canvass and Harrison's name was substituted without consultation with him and while he was absent from the State. He made a

plucky fight, but Governor Hendricks' popularity was too great to be overcome.

In 1880, Harrison was chairman of the Indiana delegation in the convention which nominated James A. Garfield for the Presidency. A strong pressure was brought to bear upon him to permit his name to be presented, but he refused. His splendid work and his great ability led Garfield to offer him a place in his Cabinet, which he declined. He was chosen United States Senator in 1881 and served for six years, during which he took rank among the foremost debaters and leaders.

Harrison Nominated and Elected President.

In the Chicago presidential convention in 1888, Harrison was nominated on the eighth ballot. During that memorable campaign, he made ninety-four speeches, all of which were forceful, effective and beyond criticism even by his enemies. His most extraordinary achievement, however, was after his election to the Presidency. Leaving Washington, April 15th, he made a journey of 10,000 miles to and from the Pacific coast, returning exactly one month later. On that journey, he made one hundred and forty addresses, some of them on five minutes' notice. His audiences at times included old Confederates, colored men and representatives of nearly every grade of society. He was taken without warning to institutions of learning, before the blind, the educated, and was brought face to face with those who had seldom seen the inside of institutions of learning. In none

of his numerous addresses did President Harrison repeat himself. Each speech was in exquisite taste, often rising to heights of genuine eloquence. The most prominent newspaper which opposed his election declared that President Harrison has never had a superior, if indeed an equal, as an effective off-hand speaker.

His administration was worthy and dignified, and though his Cabinet contained the brilliant Blaine, yet Harrison was President at all times and his influence was felt in every department. Above all things, he was a patriot and an American under all circumstances. His renomination at Minneapolis was to be expected, but the desire for a change throughout the country, rather than any distrust of the President or disfavor with his work, led to his defeat by Grover Cleveland. A few days before election Mrs. Harrison died, after a long and painful illness. The lives of the two had been an ideal one, and no couple ever were more tenderly attached to each other.

After his retirement from the Presidency, General Harrison was engaged by the late Senator Leland Stanford of California to deliver a course of lectures before the University he had founded, upon constitutional law. His practice expanded and he easily took rank among the ablest and most successful counsellors in the country. He was prominently mentioned as a presidential candidate as President Cleveland's term drew to a close, the conviction being general among the Republicans that, with his past record and his great ability, he was certain of success in the

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

struggle of 1896. The nomination, however, seemed to be a matter of indifference to General Harrison and in February, 1896, he made public his decision not to be a candidate. In January, 1896, he announced his engagement to Mrs. Dimmick, a niece of the late Mrs. Harrison. He has since been married and is living quietly at his home in Indianapolis.

A SKIRMISHER.

GROVER CLEVELAND,

SUCCESSFUL LAWYER, GOVERNOR AND PRESIDENT.

GROVER CLEVELAND, twenty-second and twenty-fourth President of the United States, was born in the village of Caldwell, Essex county, New Jersey, March 18, 1837. He was the son of Richard Falley Cleveland, a Presbyterian minister, who was graduated at Yale in 1824, and five years later married Annie Neal, daughter of a Baltimore merchant.

When the son was four years old, his father accepted a call to Fayetteville, near Syracuse, New York, where the boy attended the academy, and afterward served as clerk in a country store. Some time later the family removed to Clinton, in Oneida county, and Grover was a student at the academy there. At the age of sixteen he became a clerk and assistant teacher in the New York Institution for the Blind, in New York city. In the same institution his elder brother, William, now a preacher, was also a teacher.

Cleveland Goes West.

Grover was an excellent teacher, but yielding to ambition, he decided to go West, where he believed greater opportunities for mental growth and success awaited him. He stopped at Black Rock, now a part of the city of Buffalo, and called upon his uncle, Lewis F. Allen, who persuaded him to stay and help

in the compilation of a volume of the "American Herd Book." He assisted in the preparation of several more volumes, and in August, 1855, became a clerk and copyist for the law firm of Rogers, Bowen & Rogers, in Buffalo. He took up the study of law and was admitted to the bar in 1859. Meanwhile his father died, and, that he might be able to support his mother, Grover remained three years longer with the firm at a moderate salary.

His worth and ability had attracted favorable notice, and he was appointed assistant district attorney of Erie county, January 1, 1863, holding the office for three years. He was defeated, in 1865, as the Democratic candidate for district attorney, and became a law partner of Isaac V. Vanderpool, uniting, in 1869, with the firm of Lanning & Folsom. By this time he had attained marked success, and in 1870 was elected sheriff of Erie county. At the end of his three years' term, he formed a law partnership with his intimate friend, Lyman K. Bass, who had defeated him for the district attorneyship, the firm being Bass, Cleveland & Bissell. Ill health compelled the retirement of Mr. Bass, when the firm became Cleveland & Bissell. It was very successful, and Mr. Cleveland's reputation increased.

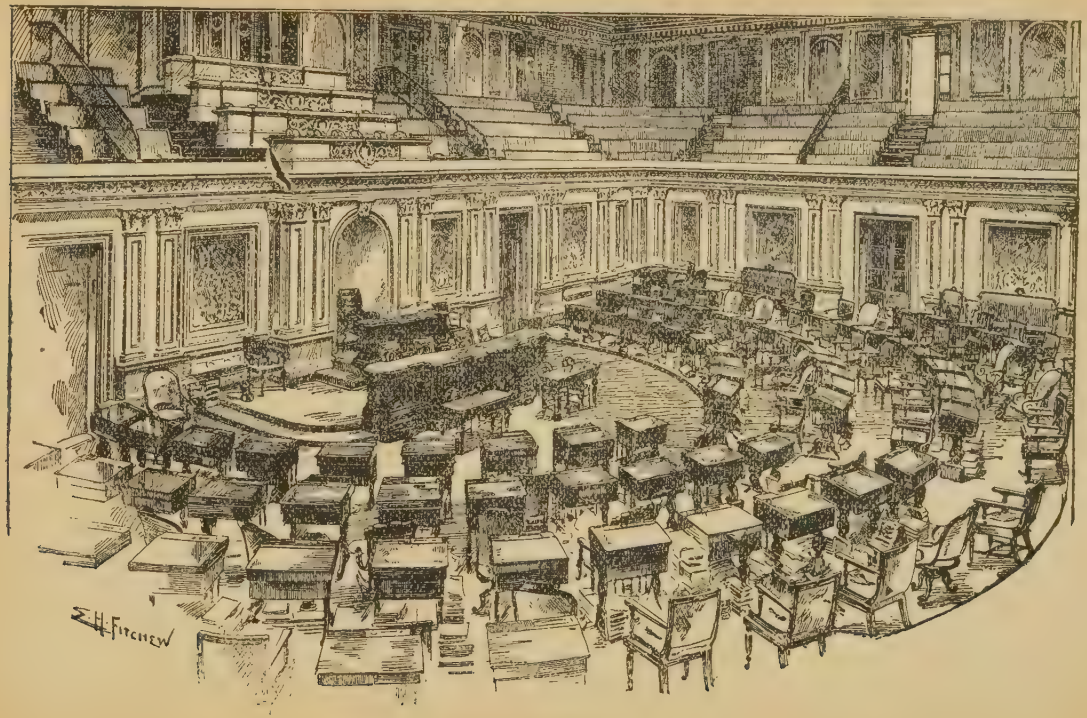
Cleveland's Early Public Career.

One of the marked features of Mr. Cleveland's early public career was his great popularity when he appeared as a candidate for the suffrages of the people. Being nominated by the Democrats for

mayor of Buffalo, in the autumn of 1881, he received the largest majority (3,530) ever given to a candidate in that city, although the Republican ticket was successful in other directions. He was supported not only by his own party, but by the independent and the "reform" movements. He fulfilled the expectations of his supporters, vetoing extravagant measures, and conducting his office in so prudent and economical a manner that he saved fully $1,000,000 to Buffalo during the first six months of his term. His course gave him such a popularity that in September, 1882, he was nominated for governor of the State. His opponent was Charles J. Folger, then Secretary of the United States Treasury. Both men had a record that could not be assailed, and the result was astounding. In a vote of 918,894, Cleveland received a plurality of 192, 854, giving him a majority over his opponent, the greenback, prohibition, and scattering vote, of 151,742, the like of which was never before known in the Empire State. The vote was so tremendous that it attracted national attention and convinced the Democratic party that if the new governor made no blunder during his administration, he would be the most available candidate for the Presidency.

Cleveland as Governor.

Governor Cleveland made no blunders that could mar his prospects. He was able, honest, and wholly devoted to the interests of the State. At the Democratic national convention, held in Chicago, in July, 1884, after several days devoted to organization



SENATE CHAMBER.

and the presenting of the names of the candidates, he received the nomination, which he formally accepted by letter on the 18th of August.

Four candidates were before the country in November, 1884: Cleveland of New York, the regular Democratic nominee; James G. Blaine of Maine, Republican; Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, labor and greenback; and John P. St. John of Kansas, prohibition. One of those little incidents which can never be foreseen, and which often overturn the best-laid plans, led to the defeat of Blaine. At a public reception, Reverend Dr. Burchard, in addressing Mr. Blaine, referred to the Democratic party as that of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." Mr. Blaine did not catch the expression, or, as he afterward declared, he would have reproved it, but the mischief was done so far as he was concerned. The charge against him was used so skilfully that the Republican candidate lost the vote of New York by a trifling majority. This gave Cleveland 219 electoral votes to 182 for Blaine, while the popular vote stood: Cleveland, 4,874,986; Blaine, 4,851,081.

President Cleveland's First Administration.

President Cleveland was inaugurated on the 4th of March following, and called around him an able Cabinet. He proved himself sincere when he declared he would do his utmost to carry out the policy of civil service reform. This course alienated some of his supporters who believed in the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils," and who considered

all ante-election pledges to the contrary as intended simply to catch votes, but President Cleveland adhered to the policy to the end, earning the respect of both parties by his courage and sincerity. He used the veto power with the same severity as when Mayor and Governor. He favored a reduction of the tariff, with the ultimate establishment of freer trade.

A pleasing incident of President Cleveland's first administration was his marriage, at the White House, June 2, 1886, to Miss Frances Folsom, daughter of Oscar Folsom, the President's intimate friend. The whole country felt an interest in the happy event, and Mrs. Cleveland, as the leading lady of the land, has commanded the admiring respect of the nation and of all with whom she has come in contact. No more graceful or accomplished lady has ever presided at the White House.

In the autumn of 1888 President Cleveland found himself pitted against General Benjamin Harrison, with the result that has already been stated. Of the popular vote, Cleveland received 5,540,329 and Harrison 5,439,853, while of the electoral votes, 168 went to Cleveland and 233 to Harrison.

Cleveland Re-elected.

In 1892 the same gentlemen were the leading candidates and the verdict was reversed; Cleveland received 5,553,142 and Harrison 5,186,931 on the popular vote, while in the electoral college 276 votes went to Cleveland and 145 to Harrison. It was the

first time in our history that a President was re-elected after being out of office for one term.

It is not the province of this sketch to give a history of the leading features of President Cleveland's administrations. A monetary stringency and a great depression of business were accompanied by a formidable railway strike which necessitated the calling out of the United States troops in several parts of the country.

"Struck Fire."

The time when President Cleveland "struck fire," however, was in his message to Congress, on December 17, 1895. England, whose "earth hunger" is insatiable, and who has appropriated land in all parts of the world, often without regard to right and justice, had disputed for years with Venezuela over the boundary between that country and British Guiana, obtained by England from The Netherlands in 1814. Learning that the interior of Venezuela contains valuable gold mines, England set up a claim, which if allowed would have split Venezuela almost in half. That weak country protested, but was powerless. England refused to arbitrate, but meant to win by the bullying course which she is so fond of adopting with feeble nations.

The United States could not view with indifference this dismemberment of a sister republic on the American continent, for it would be a flagrant violation of the Monroe Doctrine enunciated in 1823, which declared in language not to be mistaken that

GROVER CLEVELAND.

no part of North or South America from that time forward should be open for colonization by any foreign Power. Lord Salisbury, the British prime minister, was slow in replying to the communications of our Government. When his reply came, however, the President submitted it to Congress with the statement that the action Great Britain contemplated was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, which it was the duty of the American Government to resist, and proposed the appointment of a commission by the President to determine the correct boundary.

This declaration, as we have stated, "struck fire." It was instantly responded to by an outburst of patriotic fervor from one end of the country to the other. The President was endorsed everywhere. In the North and South the veterans were as eager as their sons to be led against their old hereditary enemy. President Cleveland was declared to be an American in the highest sense of the word, and an exalted patriot who had sounded the bugle to which hundreds of thousands of loyal spirits would respond.

Evidently England had not reckoned on raising such a storm as this. She found herself confronted by a nation that could not be bullied, a nation that was ready to fight at "the dropping of a handkerchief" for principle. Great as would be the calamity of a war between the two nations, it would be less a calamity than dishonor. The result is known. England was forced to make a virtue of necessity, and, with the best grace she could command, yielded to

the inevitable, admitting, that if the Monroe Doctrine is not international law, it is the abiding law of America and must be respected by all nations. And with this happy ending, it is to be hoped that, England having learned more of us than she ever knew, the two great nations will hereafter remain friends.

THE LIBERTY BELL, AS EXHIBITED AT THE NEW ORLEANS EXPOSITION.

JOHN SHERMAN,

GREAT FINANCIER AND STATESMAN.

JOHN SHERMAN is admittedly one of the ablest financiers and foremost statesmen of America. He was born May 10, 1823, at Lancaster, Ohio, and was the eighth of eleven children. He was the son of Charles Robert Sherman, who settled in Lancaster and took a leading part in the measures for defence in the war of 1812. He was a prominent and respected citizen, who, after serving for six years on the bench of the Supreme Court of the State, died suddenly in the forty-first year of his age.

Sherman's Younger Years.

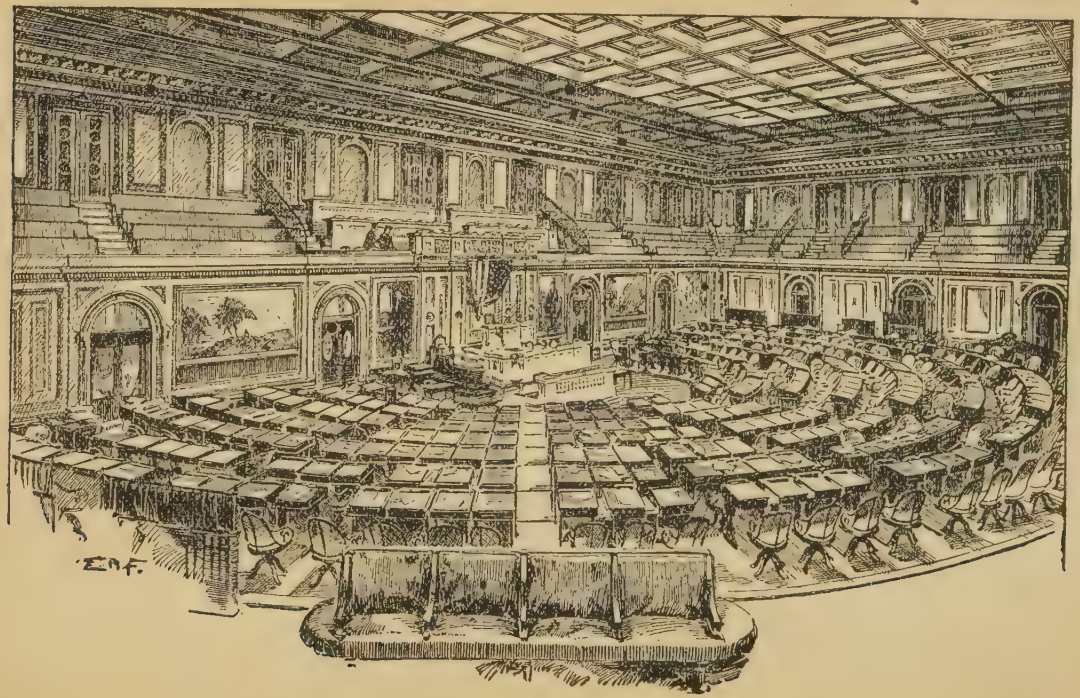
During his childhood, John Sherman attended a private school at Lancaster, but in 1831 his father's cousin, a prosperous merchant at Mount Vernon, invited him to his home and offered to take charge of his education until he was fitted for Kenyon College. The youth studied faithfully for four years, but, instead of entering college, returned to his mother's home and attended the academy there. The family were in such straitened circumstances that John decided that it was his duty to give up the plan of going to college and to support himself instead. His elder brother got him employment as junior rodman under the engineer engaged in improving the

Muskingum River. He improved his leisure by study, but at the end of two years lost his place through the sweeping political changes in the State. Returning to Lancaster with nothing to do, he fell for a time into bad habits, but touched by the grief of his mother over his lapse, and by a sense of manliness, he quickly rallied, and thenceforth was his own "master." Ever since that lapse, Senator Sherman has been a temperate man, and no one is more opposed to the drinking habit than he.

Sherman a Lawyer.

In the autumn of 1839 it was arranged that young Sherman should study law at Mansfield with his elder brother Charles and with Judge Parker, who had married his mother's only sister. His industry enabled him to support himself while thus employed, and he had been a practicing lawyer for more than a year before his admission to the bar, which took place on the day that he attained his twenty-first year.

On December 31, 1848, John Sherman was married to Miss Margaret Cecilia Stewart, only child of Judge Stewart. After their wedding tour, the couple returned to Mansfield and the husband applied himself arduously to his profession. His industry, ability and integrity brought him success, and in 1854 he was elected a member of the House of Representatives. It was in that year that the Missouri Compromise was repealed, stirring up such a vehement revolt and uprising in the North, that the Republican party of to-day was born and brought into vigorous existence.



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Recently, when asked if he remembered his first speech, the distinguished Senator said:

"Yes; I remember it well. It was in the midst of the exciting Kansas-Nebraska times, and there had been numerous changes in the personnel of the House. There were many young men among the new members. Matt Day, one of the founders of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, was a member. He wrote a great deal, but did not speak much, and was slightly deaf. He had scant regard for the sophomoric efforts of the young Congressmen. On the day that I spoke I sat behind him. Day would listen with his hand at his ear, and the moment one had concluded, would say, with a grunt of satisfaction:

"'Another Dead Cock in the Pit.'

"At last I saw a place where I thought I could make a good point. I jumped to my feet, got the Speaker's eye, and said my say. When I was through and had sat down, I said: 'Here is another dead cock in the pit.' But Day replied: 'No, my young friend, I don't think it is quite so bad as that with you yet,' and he gave me to understand that I had another chance or so for my life."

Mr. Sherman spoke frequently, and, despite his youth, speedily assumed a leading position among his associates. He was renominated in October, 1856, and triumphantly elected. He was one of the most active and vigorous workers in the presidential campaign of that year, and insists to-day that the Re-

publicans would have been successful had they placed Seward or Chase in nomination instead of Fremont.

The career of John Sherman is another proof that it is brains and ability which brings success in this country. Chosen again, in 1858, a member of the House, he had already become so prominent that he was placed in nomination for Speaker. On the twenty-fifth ballot he came within three votes of election, but he eventually withdrew and Pennington was chosen Speaker by a majority of one. Sherman was appointed chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, of which he had not previously been a member.

An Ardent Supporter of Lincoln.

Mr. Sherman had been elected a fourth time when Abraham Lincoln was placed in nomination for the Presidency. He had no more ardent and powerful supporter than Sherman. In a speech at Philadelphia, September 12, 1860, he made a number of remarkable prophecies, every one of which was fulfilled in the momentous events that speedily followed.

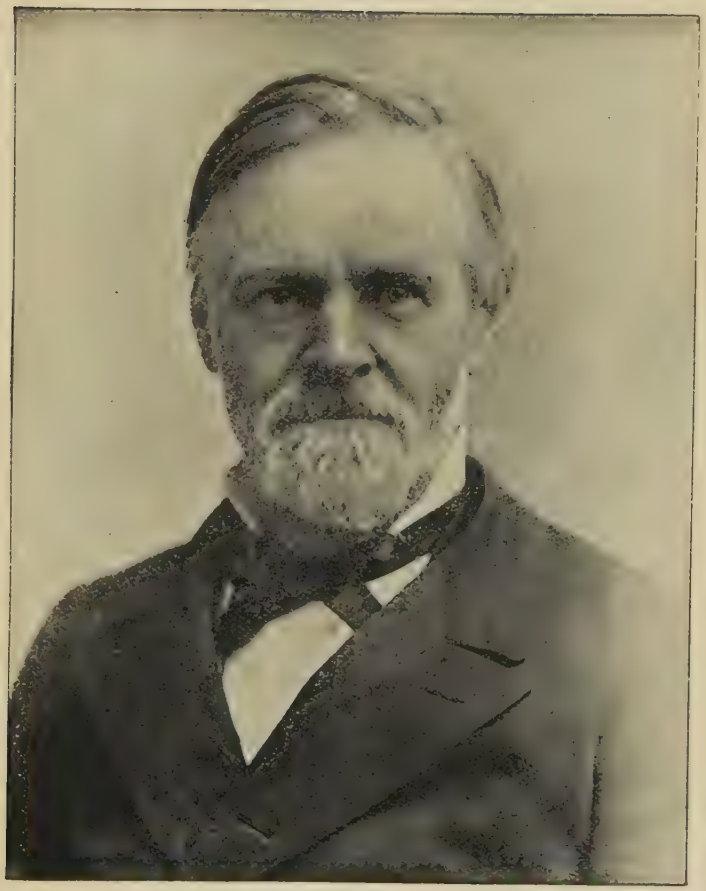
It was February 23, 1861, that Lincoln arrived in Washington, and Sherman met him at Willard's Hotel in the evening, for the first time. "When introduced to him," says Mr. Sherman, "he took my hands in both of his, drew himself up to his full height and, looking at me steadily, said: 'You are John Sherman! Well, I am taller than you; let's measure.' Thereupon we stood back to back, and some one present announced that he was two inches taller than

I. This was correct, for he was six feet three and a half inches tall when he stood erect."

In the Senate.

Salmon P. Chase having accepted the place of Secretary of the Treasurer in Lincoln's Cabinet, his seat in the Senate was taken by Sherman, who would have preferred to remain in the House, to which he had just been elected for the fourth time and of which he was certain to be chosen Speaker. But having entered the Senate, Sherman steadily rose to his present exalted place in the regard of his countrymen. In that august body, he has towered for years, head and shoulders above his distinguished associates, most of whom are of national reputation.

It seems to be the law of this country that the greatest men in a political party fail to receive its highest rewards. The peerless Henry Clay was nominated three times for the Presidency, but never attained it. Daniel Webster, longing with an unspeakable longing for the high office, died a disappointed man. If any Republican of the last quarter of a century was entitled to the presidential nomination at the hands of that party, John Sherman is preeminently the man. More than once it was almost within his reach, but never quite grasped. It was his humiliation to be forced aside, and see the honor bestowed upon men who were in the ranks when he was a leader, and whose ability was no more to be compared to his than is a bauble to a diamond. But



JOHN SHERMAN.

Senator, Great Financier.

his place in the honor and grateful recollection of the nation is secure.

Sherman's Administration of the Treasury Department.

Senator Sherman was foremost in financial and all other measures for the support of the Government, throughout the agony of the civil war. He personally recruited an Ohio brigade. He was chairman of the important Finance Committee for several years, and in 1877 left the Senate to enter the Cabinet of President Hayes. It was during his administration of the Treasury Department that the resumption of specie payments took place, January 1, 1879. With a foresight and a skill that could not be surpassed, Secretary Sherman had made such careful preparations for this important step that when it took place, there was not the slightest jar or friction. It was in the natural order of things, effect following cause with perfect smoothness.

Senator Sherman re-entered the Senate in 1881, and is there to-day, the same industrious, patriotic, sagacious, far-seeing statesman, whose utterances are read with profound interest in every corner of the land, the leader so eminent and able that none dreams of disputing his supremacy, equally respected by political friends and foes, still in the prime of his magnificent mental powers, and so great in the truest meaning of the word, that, when his farewell words come to be spoken, his loss will be felt throughout the nation.

THOMAS BRACKETT REED,

THE GREAT "SPEAKER" AND DEBATER.

(*Favorite Son of the State of Maine.*)

"How do you mix your paints?" timidly asked an amateur of a distinguished artist.

"With brains, sir!" thundered the master of the brush.

And, as we stated in our sketch of Senator John Sherman, this is pre-eminently the truth in American affairs. Social advantages, wealth and the aid of friends are not without their effect, but if the element of ability is lacking, the highest success is unattainable. Water finds its level, and the man who is thrown into the bustling arena of the House of Representatives can never attain the place of leader unless nature has furnished him with ability, or in other words, with brains.

No stronger proof can be given of this statement than is found in the career of Thomas Brackett Reed, who was born in Portland, Maine, October 18, 1839. He attended the common schools of the city, and was graduated at Bowdoin College in 1860, being among the first in his class and taking the highest honor possible—the prize for excellence in English composition. He possesses rare gifts in this respect, his writings showing a clear, vigorous, but limpid style, which have brought him a national repu-

tation, while his speeches are eloquent, sparkling, logical, and corruscating with humor, sarcasm, and wit. No man surpasses him in readiness of repartee. No more enjoyable treat can be imagined than that of a debate in the House, where he is beset with all sorts of questions from political opponents. His instant replies are inimitable, and the man that can unhorse him in debate has not yet made his appearance, and is not likely to do so for an indefinite time to come.

It was only the other day that a newspaper reporter, while looking for President Cleveland, stepped to the door of the House restaurant, and believing he saw that distinguished personage, requested an attendant to bring him to him at the President's convenience. When the gentleman came forward, it proved to be Speaker Reed.

"I beg your pardon," said the correspondent; "I am looking for the President and mistook you for him."

"For heaven's sake, don't let the President learn of this," said the Speaker, with owl-like gravity; "he is already vain enough of his personal appearance."

Reed as a Teacher.

After his graduation, Mr. Reed taught in a Portland high school, studying law at the same time. He went to California in 1863, expecting to make his home in that State. He taught school there and began the practice of law, but at the end of the year, for family reasons, returned to Maine. In April, 1864,

he was appointed acting assistant paymaster in the United States Navy, and assigned to duty on the gunboat "Sibyl," which patrolled the Tennessee, Cumberland and Mississippi rivers until the close of the war. He was discharged from the service in August, 1865, and returned to Portland, where he was admitted to the bar.

A Brilliant Lawyer.

His advance was rapid. He was interested from the first in politics, and his power and popularity were so marked that, without his knowledge, he was nominated by his party, in 1868, for the State House of Representatives. His election followed as a matter of course, and his reputation as a brilliant lawyer going with him, he was placed on the Judiciary Committee. Maine was quick to see that she had secured the right man and re-elected him in 1869, promoting him to the Senate in 1870, but he resigned the senatorship to assume the duties of Attorney-General, to which office he had been elected. Mr. Reed was the youngest Attorney-General that Maine ever had. He held the office for three years, and added to his fame, during which he displayed courage, conscientiousness and ability of a high order.

Nominated for Congress.

He retired from office in 1873, and was appointed City Solicitor of Portland, where his course was marked by the same devotion to duty that had distinguished him when Attorney-General. His name

was well known throughout the State, and it was in the natural order of events, that, in 1876, he was nominated for Congress in the district composed of Cumberland and York counties. There was the bitterest fight conceivable against him, but by his indomitable energy and ability he swept everything before him. It is a remarkable fact that, during this whole stirring campaign, the sum total of his traveling expenses, hotel parlors for delegates and cost for everything, was exactly $42.00. It may be doubted whether his subsequent nominations involved as much as that insignificant sum, for every year since, without a single vote against him in any convention, he has been enthusiastically renominated by his constituents. The leading Republican paper in Maine said: "Mr. Reed can represent his district in Congress for the rest of his natural life if he wants to; there's no question about that." His popularity made Mr. Reed the candidate before all others of New England for the Presidency to 1896, beside which, as has been shown, he had myriads of supporters in all parts of the Union.

Mr. Reed took his seat in Congress, October 15, 1877, the House having been summoned in extra session to pass the army appropriations, which had failed at the closing session of the Forty-fourth Congress. It was a Democratic House and remained in session until the following June. Mr. Reed made his first speech April 12, 1878, and drew the attention of the House by his keen, convincing logic.

At the beginning of his second term Mr. Reed's

abilities were recognized by his appointment as a member of the Judiciary Committee. His strength as a debater caused a number to vote for him as Speaker in the caucus of December, 1881, and he was made chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House. By that time he was the recognized leader on the Republican side. He prepared and introduced a bill for the proper distribution of the Geneva award against Great Britain for the "Alabama" claims, and his accompanying report convinced the House that the bill was right, and led to its passage.

Reed in the Speaker's Chair.

His great ability was recognized by political opponents as well as friends. Without soliciting a single vote, he was unanimously chosen in caucus, in 1887, as the Republican candidate for Speaker. The House being Democratic, however, John G. Carlisle received the honor in the Forty-eighth and Fiftieth Congresses. Reed's turn came in 1889, when the Republicans had a bare majority, and on second ballot placed him in the Speaker's chair, he receiving 166 votes to 154 cast for John G. Carlisle.

There are few who are not acquainted with Speaker Reed's career as presiding officer of the House of Representatives. For a time indeed he was the central figure in the eyes of the country. There were many contested election cases and the Democrats used every means to obstruct legislation. It was impossible to have every Republican in his seat at all times, to meet the constitutional require-

ment that there should be a majority present to do business. The Democrats refused to answer to their names at roll-call, and the custom had always been for the Speaker, under such circumstances, to declare no quorum present. On January 29, 1890, when the Democrats had sat mute while their names were being called by the clerk, Speaker Reed coolly counted a sufficient number "present, but not voting," to constitute a quorum.

"Present, But Not Voting."

It was like a thunder-clap from the clear sky. Pandemonium was let loose, and the Democrats, in a white heat of rage, protested and declared the proceeding unconstitutional and revolutionary. The Speaker, however, resolutely held to his decision and the business of the session which had been blocked so long moved forward, though it cannot be said without friction. The rule was finally adopted February 14, 1890. It was sustained by the Supreme Court, and four years later, when a Democratic House was caught in precisely the same dilemma, it adopted precisely the same rule. Mr Reed was chosen Speaker again of the Fifty-fourth Congress, in December, 1895.

Home Life.

Mr. Reed lives in a comfortable home at Portland, with his wife, the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Merrill, formerly pastor of a Congregational Church of that city. He has one daughter who, at this writing, is not yet out of her teens. He is popular with his

neighbors, for he is genial, pleasant and charitable, manly and courageous, and, whenever he runs for office, certain to receive a great many Democratic votes, for what American can help feeling proud of him? In the words of Henry Hall, he is "in many respects the greatest all-around man in the United States to-day, of stainless record and unimpeachable integrity, bold but safe, brilliant but wise, masterful but heeding counsel, and a fighter without fear."

INDIAN VILLAGE ENCLOSED WITH PALISADES.
(From the original drawing in the British Museum, made by John White in 1585.)

CHARLES F. CRISP.

Ex-Speaker of the House.

CHARLES FREDERICK CRISP,

SOLDIER, DEBATER AND PARLIAMENTARIAN.

CHARLES FREDERICK CRISP, Democratic Speaker of the House, naturally takes his place beside Reed, the famous Republican Speaker. Though the two gentlemen may differ in some respects, it cannot be denied that they resemble each other in their stainless integrity, their genial manner and their great ability. Like General Meade, Charles F. Crisp was born on foreign soil, though his parents were Americans, temporarily absent from their native land. Consequently their sons were as much Americans as if they first saw the light on Bunker Hill. Young Crisp was born January 29, 1845, in Sheffield, England, where his parents had gone on a visit, but they returned to America before the son was a year old. They made their home in Georgia, and in that State the son has spent most of his life, with the exception of the brief space mentioned at the beginning.

A Brave Soldier.

Young Crisp entered the Confederate service in May, 1861, having just turned his sixteenth year. He was a brave soldier and served with honor for more than three years as an officer in the Tenth Virginia Infantry. On May 12, 1864, the fortunes of war made Lieutenant Crisp a prisoner, and his

residence was in Fort Delaware until June, 1865, when he was set free.

His Public Career.

Returning to Americus, Crisp took up the study of law and soon acquired a lucrative practice. In 1872, he was appointed solicitor-general of the southwestern judicial circuit and was reappointed in 1873 for a term of four years. The Congressional Directory thus modestly sums up the public career of Mr. Crisp:—

"He located in Americus in 1873; in June, 1877, was appointed judge of the superior court of the same circuit; in 1878 was elected by the General Assembly to the same office; in 1880 was re-elected judge for a term of four years; resigned that office in September, 1882, to accept the Democratic nomination for Congress; was permanent President of the Democratic convention which assembled in Atlanta in April, 1883, to nominate a candidate for governor; was elected to the Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, and Fifty-third Congresses, and re-elected to the Fifty-fourth Congress as a Democrat, receiving 8,503 votes, against 2,568 votes for George B. White, Populist; was elected Speaker of the House in the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses."

In the Congress.

It will thus be noted that Mr. Crisp entered Congress at the age of thirty-eight. He speedily took

high rank in that body, and often, during his second term was called to occupy the chair in committee of the whole. He is one of the ablest parliamentary authorities, self-possessed debaters and best informed men in the House. He was a leading participant in the turbulent scenes of the Fifty-first Congress, when the only member as cool as he was Speaker Reed. His party never did a more appropriate thing than when, at the first opportunity, they placed him in the chair as Speaker, and it may be truthfully said that few if any occupants have displayed more ability and judicial fairness than he.

At Home.

Great as have been the public honors placed upon Mr. Crisp, the most pleasing picture of him is in his own home. He is liked by every one in Americus. When the news reached that town that he had been chosen Speaker, a telegram was sent to him with the announcement that his friends had locked up the chief of police and all his officers for twenty-four hours and had taken possession of the place, that they might have a chance to give proper expression to their feelings.

Mr. Crisp has been blessed with one of the best of wives, and they have had seven children, of whom only four are living. The eldest daughter is married, and the eldest boy is clerk to his father. Unhappily the mother, shortly after her marriage, was afflicted with rheumatic gout, from which she has never recovered. Her affliction seems to have drawn her children and husband closer to her, and the love

borne by all for one another makes the home an ideal one.

The house in the evening is the resort of the young people of Americus. They come together to dance and sing and enjoy themselves. Although Speaker Crisp is neither a singer nor dancer, none finds keener enjoyment in the fun than he. He is very fond of young people, and it follows inevitably that they are equally fond of him. He is thoroughly happy, and holding as he does the esteem and respect of all his neighbors and acquaintances, and with the prospect of higher political honors awaiting him, ex-Speaker Crisp has no excuse for envying the fortunes of any man.

OLD GATE AT ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA.

JOHN GRIFFIN CARLISLE,

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY—GREAT ADVOCATE OF SOUND MONEY.

JOHN GRIFFIN CARLISLE was born September 5, 1834, in Campbell (now Kenton) county, Kentucky. His father, Lilbon H. Carlisle, was a farmer in a small way, who inherited a portion of the Carlisle farm, situated a few miles from Covington. The family originally came from Virginia.

Earlier Years.

John Griffin was a studious boy, but considered indolent. He did not take kindly to manual labor, but was fond of books. He attended the public schools and received few educational advantages. That he improved his time is proved by the fact that while he was in his teens he was a successful teacher, but he had made up his mind to become a lawyer, and in 1855 he entered as a law student the office of John W. Stevenson, at Covington. The father of Stevenson was Speaker of the House of Representatives and the son afterwards became Governor of Kentucky and United States Senator.

In 1858, at the age of twenty-three, Carlisle was admitted to the bar. He quickly demonstrated that he was the possessor of a powerful and logical mind, and his success was assured from the first. In the following year, he was elected to the lower House of

the Kentucky Legislature. During the civil war, Mr. Carlisle was a Union man, though, as he states, not an aggressive one. He practiced his profession while the fighting was going on.

Public Career.

In 1866 he was elected State Senator and resigned in 1871, during a second term, to become Lieutenant-Governor. Five years later, he was elected to the National House of Representatives, and was Speaker from 1883 to 1889. He remained in the House until 1890, when he was chosen United States Senator, to succeed Senator Beck, who had died. This office he resigned at the solicitation of President Cleveland, whose Cabinet he entered in March, 1893, as Secretary of the Treasury.

Such in brief is the public career of this distinguished son of Kentucky, a gentleman who to-day is one of the most remarkable men and influential politicians in the Union. The appropriateness of his selection by President Cleveland was recognized in every quarter, for from Mr. Carlisle's first appearance in Congress, in 1879, he was accepted as authority on finance, and was the most successful leader that the Democrats have had since the war. The legislation of the three Houses over which he presided was unusually creditable. In the Fifty-first Congress, he succeeded in so weakening protectionist opposition that the Mills bill was passed, though his party had been unable to unite on the Morrison bill.

It was Mr. Carlisle's report which in 1879 resulted

in the revision of the excise laws and an equitable system of taxation. In 1881 he introduced an amendment which limited the power of the national banks to surrender circulation and protected the Treasury and the business of the country from the assaults which have been made by banks whenever there was a threatened reduction in the interest on the public bonds held by them.

Personal Qualities.

Mr. Carlisle is six feet in height, with smooth-shaven face, bright blue eyes, and his appearance suggests that of a prelate of the Roman Catholic Church. He is the pink of courtesy, and has been seen to give up his seat in a street car to a colored woman with as much grace as the late General Jo Johnston showed upon similar occasions. His voice is pleasant, and he is an attentive listener, with a heart so kind that his break-down when Speaker was caused by his constant efforts to help the members who came to consult him regarding their bills. If he is lacking in one thing, it seems to be the power to refuse a favor, through his dread of hurting the applicant's feelings or doing him an injustice. All such persons reap the penalty of their open-heartedness, and Secretary Carlisle is to-day a poor man, far different from many who have held public office.

The story is told of him that when a blubbering Kentuckian, as he called himself, begged for enough money to take himself and family home, after they had been robbed, the Secretary handed him fifty dol-

lars. A half hour later, the same man and half a dozen drunken companions rode past the Secretary's house, whooping and enjoying themselves to their fullest bent.

Some of the Secretary's habits are not to be commended. He takes no exercise whatever. If his carriage does not call for him, he boards the street car for his home. It has been said that the only possible exercise he gets is when the street car is so full that he has to hang fast to a strap.

His Most Remarkable Characteristic.

But the most remarkable characteristic of Secretary Carlisle remains to be mentioned. It is his wonderful mental grasp of complicated questions, a power which seems to be in the nature of intuition. He will run through a mass of papers and extract the kernel, when other lawyers have only begun their investigation. He will sit toying with a pack of cards and play solitaire, without making an error in the game and dictate the most important letters. After fifty such letters have been written he will listen to their re-reading, and, if a single word has been inadvertently changed, he will detect it as quick as a flash. His skill in this respect is almost incredible. Major McKinley once remarked of him that he never had a clouded thought, and the facetious Senator Joe Blackburn said:

"Carlisle is not entitled to half as much credit as I am. What I know I have had to study, dig, grub, and toil for. Carlisle knows four times as much as I

LEVI P. MORTON.
Governor of New York.

do. He has all the wisdom of the ancients and the moderns packed away in his head, and whenever he opens his mouth great things and good things naturally roll out of it. He isn't entitled to any credit for them. He can't help it. He was born that way."

Home Life.

Secretary Carlisle has long been the confidential adviser and intimate friend of President Cleveland. He has a charming home and is devoted to it. He was married January 15, 1857, to Miss Mary Jane Goodson, belonging to a prominent family of Kentucky. His son, Lilbon Logan, is his private secretary and is unmarried. His other son, William K., is married and has two or three small children with him at his home in the West. Both sons are bright and successful lawyers. Mrs. Carlisle is her husband's helpmate, looking after his health, not always a slight matter, and giving her aid and counsel in many important matters, while the husband, with all his wisdom and ability, fully appreciates the inestimable service which such a wife is often able to render even in questions of public affairs and of state matters.

LEVI PARSONS MORTON,

GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK,

New York's Candidate for President.

Levi Parsons Morton, although to-day worth many million dollars, was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Like many of the very wealthy men of our country, he was the son of poor parents, and hewed his way to success by his own industry, ability and resolution not to stop short until that success was attained. His mother was the daughter of a clergyman, and his father was a clergyman, Daniel O. Morton, of Shoreham, Vermont, where Levi Parsons was born in 1824, being the fifth of six children. By great economy the preacher was able to send his two older sons to school, but young Levi gathered his first book instruction at the knees of his father and mother. Afterward he attended the common school for a while, but at an age when many other lads are preparing for the academy or college, he started out to earn his own livelihood.

Earlier Years.

About the only avenue open for youths of that class is the country store, which, however, has been the stepping-stone to success for more than one great man. Levi had barely reached his teens when he was employed in selling sugar, tea and all the odd knacks

that may be found in a village store. But he was made of the right stuff, and at the end of a year he was promoted to a better-paying position in Enfield, Massachusetts, from which he drifted to Concord, finally landing at Hanover. In the last-named place is a well-known university. Unable to attend the institution himself, young Morton found the air of learning congenial, and he was delighted in his intercourse with the students, the professors, their wives and families. Not neglecting his business, he improved himself mentally to the utmost, and looks back upon that episode in his life as among his most pleasing remembrances. While a resident of Hanover, he cast his first vote for General Zachary Taylor, afterward President of the United States.

In Boston.

In 1849, when twenty-five years old, Morton removed to Boston, and made a profitable arrangement with the leading dry goods house of James Beebe & Co. At that time there was another young man connected with the house of Beebe & Co., Junius S. Morgan, who afterwards became the head of the great banking firm in London.

Morton and Morgan became close friends, and in 1852, Morton was taken in as a member of the firm of Beebe & Co. Here he confirmed his reputation as a man of unusually keen business instincts, and added much to the success of the firm. There seemed, however, to be only one right place for the budding merchant and millionaire, and that was the

metropolis of the country. Accordingly, in 1854, he left New England and associated himself with Mr. Grinnell, a New York merchant. The sign of Morton & Grinnell, commission merchants, was hung out on lower Broadway, then the center of the dry goods trade of the city.

In 1856, when thirty-two years old, he was married to Miss Lucy Kimball, who belonged to an old Long Island family. Ere long a commercial panic swept over the country, and all his hard-earned savings were engulfed, but he never lost heart and kept his head so well above water, that in 1863 he was able to establish the banking firm of L. P. Morton & Co. It was the business to which he had long aspired, for which he was eminently fitted, and in which he attained extraordinary success. His old friend, Junius S. Morgan, became a partner, and, in 1869, Mr. George Bliss, who had always been very successful in the dry goods business, joined the firm with a large amount of capital, the style becoming Morton, Bliss & Co. Mr. Morgan soon retired, and going to London, formed other connections. Sir John Rose, who had been Minister of Finance in Canada, shortly after took charge of the New York firm's business in London, which was rapidly growing, and Morton, Rose & Co. soon became a power in that city.

A Memorable Transaction.

From 1873 to 1884, Morton, Bliss & Co. were the fiscal agents of the United States Government, and were active in the syndicate that negotiated United

States bonds for the refunding of the National debt and the restoration of specie payments. A memorable transaction of the firm was the payment by check of $15,500,000 on account of the Geneva award for the "Alabama" claims, and another of $5,500,000 on account of the fishery award.

Mr. Morton was prominent in society, and in 1870, he bought "Fairlawn," a magnificent estate on Bellevue avenue, Newport, where he gave many notable entertainments. In the following summer, however, he was afflicted by the death of his wife there. The blow was a severe one, and only after the persistent urgency of his friends he roused himself and entered more vigorously than ever into business. In 1873 he was married to Miss Annie Street, daughter of William I. Street, belonging to one of the oldest families in New York. The country place of the Streets was at Poughkeepsie, and, in deference to the wishes of Mrs. Morton, her husband purchased "Ellerslie," a few miles above, which is one of the most palatial residences in this country.

In the Congress.

Mr. Morton is a type of the successful American merchants and bankers whose peculiar training and mental equipment sometimes lead them to turn their attention to politics. Mr. Morton listened to the persuasion of friends, and, in 1878, accepted the Republican nomination for Congress from the Eleventh district in New York city. It was a Democratic stronghold, but Mr. Morton was successful and was

re-elected at the conclusion of his first term. His strength was already so apparent that he was offered the nomination for the Vice-Presidency on the ticket with Garfield. He declined and the honor went to Chester Alan Arthur, who, as is known, succeeded to the Presidency upon the assassination of the President. Garfield offered Mr. Morton the choice between Secretary of the Navy and the mission to France. The latter suited Mr. and Mrs. Morton and was accepted. The family removed to Paris in 1881, and remained until 1885, when Mr. Morton resigned to make way for Robert McLane. He made a most admirable record while in France, and this country was never more capably represented in Paris than by him and his family.

Vice-President of the United States.

In 1889 Mr. Morton became Vice-President of the United States, with Benjamin Harrison as his chief. He won the same golden opinions while presiding officer of the United States Senate, and political opponents regretted, scarcely less than political friends, his retirement at the end of four years.

Mr. Morton had become too "available" a candidate for his party to allow him to withdraw from politics, and, though he had reached the age of three-score and ten, when he felt himself entitled to rest, he accepted the nomination for Governor against Senator David B. Hill, and defeated him by a majority of 156,-108, at the same election in which Cleveland carried the State against Harrison. Governor Morton's term

expires on the last day of 1896. At the beginning of the year, the Republican leaders of the State agreed to unite their efforts in pressing him for the Republican nomination for the Presidency.

His worth and ability were proven long ago. He holds that the office is one too dignified for any person to seek or to decline. When the wife of President Harrison died, Mrs. Morton became the leader of society in Washington, and there was never a more brilliant and popular leader than she. It was her innate graciousness, her infinite tact, and her kindness of heart, more than her beauty and brilliant accomplishments, which won her admiration and respect of all, as the foremost lady of the land. The parents have been blessed with five bright and beautiful daughters, carefully trained and educated, fit companions, all, for their noble mother and worthy father.

WILLIAM B. ALLISON,

IOWA'S FAVORITE FOR PRESIDENT.

WILLIAM B. ALLISON, recently re-elected United States Senator from Iowa, is a native of Ohio, the commonwealth which of late years has furnished so many statesmen to the Union. Some time ago, in a chat with the late General Sherman, he remarked to the writer: "There's something singular about Ohio; she has always a number of leading men at the front. Here at West Point she has the largest number of members in the graduating class, and it has been so for years. The infusion of New England blood into that State seems to have produced the best sort of stock. General Grant was a native of the State, and," added the grim soldier, with a smile, "if I weren't such a modest man, I might add that I was also born there."

First Entrance into Politics.

Mr. Allison was born in 1829, and was graduated from the Western Reserve College. His first entrance into public politics, as he states, was in 1860, when he was appointed one of the tally secretaries at the convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency. He was then practicing law in the little town of Ashland, near the center of the State, some fifteen miles from where that other famous son of Ohio, John Sherman, was engaged in

WM. B. ALLISON.
Senator from Iowa.

the same profession. Allison had removed to Iowa in 1857, where he found himself among many people from Ohio. It was as a delegate from Iowa that he attended the memorable convention which placed one of the greatest Americans that ever lived in nomination for the Presidency.

"I sat right in front of George Ashmun, of Massachusetts," said Senator Allison. "He was president of the convention, and I believe that I gave him the first news of Lincoln's nomination. I kept footing up the figures as they came in, and some time before the members of the convention were aware of the fact, I saw that Lincoln would be successful, and I turned about and told Mr. Ashmun of the fact. A few minutes later the convention realized it, and then ensued one of the most wonderful scenes in our history. The convention was held in the old wigwam in Chicago, and there were about ten thousand people present. When the vote was announced a scream went up from thousands of throats, and fully one thousand hats were thrown into the air. It rained hats for several minutes after the announcement, and I can still see the hats rising and falling. The people lost control of themselves, and I have often wondered what became of those hats, for there was not much possibility of recovering your hat in a mob like that."

In Congress.

Although Mr. Allison was deeply interested in politics from the first, and always inclined to the principles of the Republican party, he felt no special ambi-

tion to become a politician. Nevertheless, his neighbors appreciated his ability, and he was nominated for Congress in 1862. Samuel J. Kirkwood was then governor of Iowa and Allison was on his staff. Being directed to raise troops for the armies in the field, he organized three regiments in North Iowa in 1861, but was attacked by a serious illness which laid him up for a year. As soon as he recovered, he set to work again and raised three more regiments. He was then nominated for Congress by the conservative element of the Republican party. His opponent was a Democratic editor of so pronounced secession proclivities that he was in jail by orders of the aggressive Secretary Stanton. Thus the issue was a straight one between the friends and enemies of the Union.

Soldier-Voting.

Had all of Iowa's citizens been at home, Mr. Allison would not have felt the slightest misgiving as to the result, but the majority of the Iowa soldiers in the field were Republicans. In this dilemma, Allison persuaded Governor Kirkwood to call an extra session of the Legislature, which passed a law allowing the soldiers at the front to vote. Three commissioners were sent thither, the result being that Allison was triumphantly elected. The same system of soldier-voting was afterward adopted by other States in the North. Mr. Allison remained in Congress until 1871, and two years later was elected to the Senate, where he has remained ever since, being re-elected, as already stated, in 1896.

From his first entrance into politics Senator Allison has been profoundly interested in financial matters, and there is no higher authority on that question than he. He was early appointed a member of the Appropriation Committee. His seat was near that of Congressman Garfield and he became the intimate and trusted friend of him and of Blaine. Despite his friendship for Mr. Blaine, he was also the valued associate of the most bitter opponents of the Maine statesman. This was a tribute indeed to the worth and ability of Allison.

Declining the Portfolio of the Treasury.

President Garfield was so impressed by Allison's attainments and complete mastery of financial questions, that, in the face of the stongest pressure from other quarters, he urged him to accept the portfolio of the Treasury. Allison would have done so, for the post would have been a congenial one to him, had it not been for the delicate state of his wife's health. She was a brilliant and accomplished woman, but was an invalid whose existence depended upon her living a quiet, restful life. Because of this, the affectionate husband declined the offer. The nervous malady of his wife became intensified, and some time later, when she had become a victim to melancholia, sad to say, she took her own life.

Mr. Allison enjoys splendid health, and is in the prime of his mental powers. His eye is bright, his complexion ruddy, and the iron-gray hair abundant. He is a handsome man, genial and fond of a good

story, and he can tell one and join in the ringing laughter which greets a witticism. He is fond of books, art and travel, and is almost as familiar with the politics of Europe as with those of his own country. He is dignified and kindly without a trace of egotism or vanity. Senator Gear of Iowa said of him: "There is nothing of a coward about Allison. He is cautious, but not cowardly. He has a stiff backbone in him, and when the occasion demands, he always shows that he has convictions and the courage to support them. He has been in public life for a generation, and although he is sixty-seven years old, he looks and really is ten years younger, and in the prime of physical condition."

FREDERIC REMINGTON—AFTER PHOTOGRAPH

INDIAN AGENCY.

DAVID BENNETT HILL,

U. S. SENATOR FROM NEW YORK.

"I AM a Democrat," was the superfluous declaration of United States Senator David Bennett Hill some time since, for, among all the leading Democrats of the country, there is no more pronounced party man than he. It was Samuel J. Tilden, the Sage of Greystone, who ten years before said to him: "You have never failed me; you have always been loyal and honorable; you can be trusted; you are honest; you have brains; such men are rare. The American people appreciate power and manliness and ability, and you possess all three. I am proud of you. Whatever you do in public life, never forget that you are a Democrat." And Mr. Hill has never forgotten it.

"I Don't Want to be an Angel."

Caleb Hill was a Connecticut farmer who removed to the State of New York early in the present century, and David Bennett, the youngest of five children, was born in 1843, in the town of Havana, Schuyler county. His mother was a woman of rare intelligence and force of character, and her example and training had much to do with the success of her son in after life.

David was a weak, sickly boy and his parents did not believe he would live to reach maturity. It is

said that nearly every crone who met him had a habit of chucking him under the chin and solemnly remarking: "Poor boy, he will not be with us long, but I suppose he will be better off among the angels." "I don't want to be an angel," angrily protested the lad, who up to the present has had his wish gratified.

His weak health made young Hill a studious boy and he developed a marked talent for composition. He was the pupil always selected to read a composition or deliver a speech at school celebrations, and, when he was still quite young, many of the shrewd neighbors prophesied a brilliant future for the youth. At the age of seventeen years he attended a political meeting at Watkin's Glen. He had just been graduated from the High School, and like the others had gone to the Glen to listen to the address of a famous political orator.

The orator did not appear, much to the disappointment of the multitude. When they were about to separate, the committee observed young Hill in the crowd, and aware of his skill as a speaker, urged him to go upon the platform. He consented and delivered a speech, full of good sense and displaying such a familiarity with politics that the audience was surprised and delighted. "He's made of the right stuff," remarked one of the old men; "he'll be heard from again."

Fortunately by this time Hill had acquired sound health, and the old women and pessimists agreed that the time for his becoming an angel would have to be postponed indefinitely.

Launched Upon the Sea of Politics.

His father died while he was a lad and his mother eked out a living as best she could from the heavily mortgaged farm. David contributed all the help he could, selling papers and candies on the New York Central Railway before he had entered his teens. Having passed through the High School, he now entered a law office in Elmira and began the study of law. He was a hard student, and did two years' work in one, being admitted to the bar when he had barely reached the age of twenty-one. Two months later he was appointed city attorney, and was thus fairly launched upon the sea of politics, where he has made a brilliant reputation. His sound judgment, his great ability and his aggressive nature caused him to forge to the front quickly, and he was selected as a delegate to the Democratic State convention in 1868. Two years later, he was elected to the Legislature and attracted the attention of Samuel J. Tilden.

At the expiration of his term, Hill returned to Elmira, where he became alderman. His record was so satisfactory that he was nominated for mayor and defeated one of the most popular of Republicans. His course brought him before the State convention in 1882, and he was elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket which placed Grover Cleveland in the gubernatorial chair. in 1885, he was chosen governor by a large majority, being re-elected, and holding the office until 1891. In the latter year he was chosen United States Senator, for the term expiring in 1897.

The Republican "Landslide" of 1894.

In the face of his earnest protest he was forced to take the nomination for governor in 1894, against Levi P. Morton. It was the Republican "landslide" year, when there was no earthly hope of success for the Democrats, but Hill went into the canvass and fought to the end with his accustomed energy and skill. He had the determined support of a minority in the convention which placed Grover Cleveland in nomination for the Presidency in 1892, and has often been named since in connection with that high office.

Senator Hill has reached success by study, hard work, integrity, and the momentum of natural ability. He is not a brilliant speaker, and rarely are his addresses lit up by flashes of humor; but they are solid, full of fact, and logical. He is extremely popular with his own party, which would be proud to honor him with any office within its gift. He is respected for his talents, and commands the attention of the Senate when he rises to speak. It is to his credit that he does not use tobacco in any form, and he never tasted liquor but once, which was simply to learn what sort of flavor the poison has. He is averse to female society, finding his greatest pleasure in his books and the company of his own sex. Now and then there are mysterious reports of his engagement to some lady, but if ever he does take to himself a wife, it will be the most unexpected act of his life.

HENRY MOORE TELLER.
Senator from Colorado.

HENRY MOORE TELLER,

U. S. SENATOR FROM COLORADO—CHAMPION OF FREE SILVER COINAGE.

HENRY MOORE TELLER is of Dutch descent and was born at Granger, Allegheny county, N. Y., May 23, 1830. He received a good academic education, and while in attendance at the academy taught school at intervals in order to help pay the expenses of his education.

Excellent Success.

Having completed his course at the academy, he took up the study of law under the instruction of Judge Martin Grover, and was admitted to the bar January 5, 1858, at Binghamton in his native State. Like many other young men, Mr. Teller formed the idea that the West offered a wider field for success, although his first move was not very far in that direction. He located at Morrison, Whitesides county, Illinois, and began the practice of his profession. He had been a hard student and was well grounded in his profession. He met with excellent success, but became convinced that he had not gone as far west as was best for him. Accordingly, in April, 1861, he emigrated to Colorado, which is still his home.

In that Territory he found a congenial field for his ability and energy, not only in law, but in business enterprises. The legal firm which he formed was H. M.

& W. Teller. Fully alive to the vast possibilities of the new country, Mr. Teller became interested in its development. He originated and pushed to a successful issue the Colorado Central Railroad. He drew the charter and presented it to the Territorial Legislature in 1865, and for five years he was president of the company. He infused his own energy and spirit into the management of the line, and gave new proof of his exceptional ability as an organizer and thorough railway manager. The finances could not have been conducted with better judgment and he quickly made the railroad the leading one in the Territory.

During the Indian troubles of 1863, Mr. Teller was appointed brigadier-general of the militia, serving with much acceptability for two years, when he resigned.

A Power in Politics.

Although originally a Democrat, Mr. Teller joined the Republican party in 1855, when it was in its infancy. He became a power in politics, commanding the respect and confidence of all classes. He never sought office and did not seem to care for political honors, but in 1876, upon the admission of Colorado as a State, he was placed in nomination as one of the first United States Senators, and, without any effort on his part, was elected. In drawing for the long and short terms, he secured the short one and took his seat December 4, 1876. He was re-elected the same month, and served until April, 1882, when he was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President

Arthur, serving until March 3, 1885, when he was again elected to the United States Senate to succeed Nathaniel P. Hill, Republican. Senator Teller took his seat March 4, 1885, to be elected once more in 1890. His term expires March 3, 1897.

A Pronounced "Silver Man."

Senator Teller has long been a prominent Free Mason and Knight Templar. He was Grand Master of Colorado for seven years, and was also Grand Commander of the Knights Templar of the same State. His career shows his popularity with the people. His integrity has never been questioned. He is genial, with an attractive manner, laborious in his profession, and with a charitable nature. More persons than would be suspected have received valuable aid at his hands, and the toiler, no matter how humble, knows that he has one of the best and truest friends in him. As a representative of the sentiments of Colorado, Senator Teller, it need hardly be said, is a pronounced "silver man," as he has proved times without number in the warm debates and struggles which have taken place during the last few years in Washington. His ability, forceful logic, and commanding courage have given him a national reputation and a popularity which places him at the head of the champions of his financial ideas, and with scarcely a rival in the great West.

WILLIAM LYNE WILSON,

POSTMASTER-GENERAL,

Author of the "Wilson Bill."

WILLIAM LYNE WILSON was born in Jefferson county, West Virginia, then a part of Virginia, May 3, 1843. His father, Benjamin Wilson, died when the son and only child was only four years old, and he was thus left to the care of his widowed mother. She trained him carefully, and having entered Columbian College, in Washington, D. C., he was graduated in 1860, and the same year became a student at the University of Virginia..

Stirring Times.

Those were stirring times, for the country was about to plunge into civil war. Young Wilson had been in the University less than a year, when, with the majority of students, he withdrew to enter the Confederate service, in which he remained until the final surrender at Appomattox. He then returned to Columbian College, in which he was appointed Professor of Ancient Languages. While meeting the duties of this honorable place, he studied law and was graduated from the law school of that institution in 1867. At that time the "test oaths" prevented any person who had served in the Confederate service

from practicing in the courts of West Virginia, but the law was repealed in 1871, and Professor Wilson began the duties of his profession in Charlestown. He was chosen as one of the West Virginia delegates to the National Democratic Convention in 1880, and as a State Elector at Large on the presidential Democratic ticket of that year.

In the Congress.

In 1882 he became President of the West Virginia State University, and two weeks later was nominated by the Democratic Convention of the Second District for Representative in Congress, and elected in the following November. He acted as President of the University from March 4, 1883, without salary, until he took his seat as a member of the Forty-eighth Congress, in December of that year. He served for six terms, but was swept under by the wave of Republican successes in November, 1894. Postmaster-General Bissell having resigned early in 1895, President Cleveland nominated Professor Wilson as his successor, and he was promptly confirmed by the Senate. His appointment gave general satisfaction to all parties, for it was only a recognition of his extraordinary services in the cause of tariff reform.

The "Wilson Bill."

In 1893, Professor Wilson was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and the tariff bill which he presented in that year and fought through the House drew the attention of the entire country to

him. No man ever wrought harder than he, toiling all day and far into the night, and none could have made a more vigorous, determined and successful contest upon the floor of the House. When triumph came at last, he was carried on the shoulders of his shouting adherents, the scene being one which no witness can ever forget. His exhausting labors proved serious, for his health broke down and it was a long time before he regained in any degree his usual strength. The "Wilson Bill," whose merits it is not our province to discuss, has taken its place in history, and the author is acknowledged to be one of the brainiest ahd ablest members of his party.

Personal Qualities.

Professor Wilson is a small man, slender of frame, and barely five feet in height. His pale face is that of a student, and his fine hair is rapidly becoming white. Although wholly absorbed in his public duties while in Washington, when he is at his home in Charlestown, West Virginia, he is a merry, rollicking boy among his four sons, provided they are at home with him. He is the happy father also of two daughters, and the family is an ideal one. Both he and his accomplished wife are Baptists, and when the news of his nomination to Congress reached him, they were at a prayer meeting. It was a case of the office seeking the man, and Professor Wilson has never in any sense of the word been a wire-puller.

A little fact may be mentioned here: the small pale disk which Professor Wilson sometimes wears as

a scarf pin, was struck two thousand two hundred years ago, by command of the founder of the Macedonian empire. It shows the profile of Philip, and is one of the rarest coins in existence, carrying us back to the luminous noontide of Greek civilization, which still glows for the student beyond the mists and shadows of encroaching centuries.

MOTHER AND INFANT.

WILLIAM McKINLEY,*

THE FAVORITE CHAMPION OF A PROTECTIVE TARIFF,

By Edward S. Ellis, A. M.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, JR., was born in Niles, Trumbull county, Ohio, January 29, 1843. His father was a German by birth, and lived to his 85th year, his mother, of Scotch descent, being still alive at this writing. William was the third son. The eldest, David, is a resident of San Francisco, where, until 1894, he was the Hawaiian Consul-General to the United States. The second son, James, died a few years ago, and Abner, younger than William, is engaged in business in the city of New York.

"You'll Do."

When five years old William attended the village school at Niles, continuing his studies at a more advanced school at Poland, whither his parents removed in order to obtain better educational advantages for their children. When not quite sixteen, William was sent to the Allegheny College at Meadville, Pa., but fell ill and had to return home. When he recovered, he began teaching school, receiving $25 a month and "boarding around." He was thus engaged when the country was thrilled by the news that Fort Sumter had been fired upon. Instantly the

* See also the more complete Life of McKinley, by John Sherman, Senator from Ohio.

MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY.

U. S. Senator and Republican Leader from Pennsylvania.

pale-faced, gray-eyed student flung aside his books and enlisted as a private in the war for the Union. It was patriotism of the loftiest nature which inspired the young teacher. He was mustered in at Columbus in June, by General John C. Fremont, who thumped the young man's chest, looked into his clear eye, and surveying him from head to foot said: "You'll do!"

A Fire-tried Veteran at Twenty-two.

Young McKinley was attached to the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and remained with it to the close of the war. During that period, he served on the staff of Brigadier-General Rutherford B. Hayes, afterwards President of the United States; on the staff of the famous Indian fighter, General Crook, and subsequently on that of Brigadier-General Hazen. He was in all the engagements in which his regiment took part, and was made a second lieutenant directly after the battle of Antietam, upon the urgent recommendation of General Hayes. He became first lieutenant February 7, 1863, captain July 25, 1864, and was breveted major by President Lincoln for gallant conduct on the fields of Opequan, Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek, being mustered out with his regiment in July, 1865.

Thus, at the age of twenty-two, Major McKinley was a fire-tried veteran of the war for the Union, with a record to which he can always refer with patriotic pride.

But the war was over, the Union restored, and the

modest young man, without pausing to boast of his deeds, entered upon the study of law. He was graduated from the Albany (N. Y.) Law School, and settling in the little town of Canton, Ohio, waited for his clients to come. They straggled thither, and fortunate were all who secured the services of the brilliant, conscientious, and learned lawyer. His ability attracted the attention of Judge Belden, who invited him to a partnership with him, and the connection lasted until the death of the judge in 1870. His townsmen showed their appreciation of the young man by electing him, in 1869, prosecuting attorney of Stark county, an office which he held for a number of years. He had already established his reputation as a powerful jury lawyer and one of the best speakers in the State.

The "McKinley Bill."

At the age of thirty-three the people of his district elected him their Representative in Congress, his re-election following until 1890, when, through the gerrymandering of his district, he was defeated by a small majority. From January, 1892, to January, 1894, and again until January, 1896, he was Governor of Ohio, his election being among the most notable triumphs of his career.

While in Congress, McKinley was a member of the Committee on Revision of Laws, the Judiciary Committee, the Committee on Expenditures in the Post Office Department, and the Committee on Rules. Upon the nomination of General Garfield for the

Presidency, McKinley took his place on the Committee on Ways and Means, serving with the committee for the rest of his time in Congress. It was while he was chairman that he framed the "McKinley Bill," which still bears his name. This tariff act became law, October 1, 1890, and provided for a high rate of duty on an immense number of articles imported from foreign countries, but made sugar free. Its purpose was to reduce the national revenue and to increase protection.

The work involved in the preparation of this bill is almost inconceivable. It contained thousands of items and covered every interest in the country. For four weeks, while the House was in session, he was almost constantly upon his feet, answering numberless questions, meeting objections and giving information. With the exception of two minor amendments, it passed exactly as it came from the hands of the committee.

A correspondent of the New York *Press* thus describes the man: "Quiet, dignified, modest, considerate of others, ever mindful of the long service of the veterans of his party, true as steel to his friends, unhesitating at the call of duty, no matter what the personal sacrifice; unwavering in his integrity, full of tact in overcoming opposition, yet unyielding on vital party principles, with a heart full of sympathy for those who toil, a disposition unspoiled by success and a private life as spotless as self-sacrificing, he stands before the American people to-day as one of the finest types of courageous, persevering, vigorous,

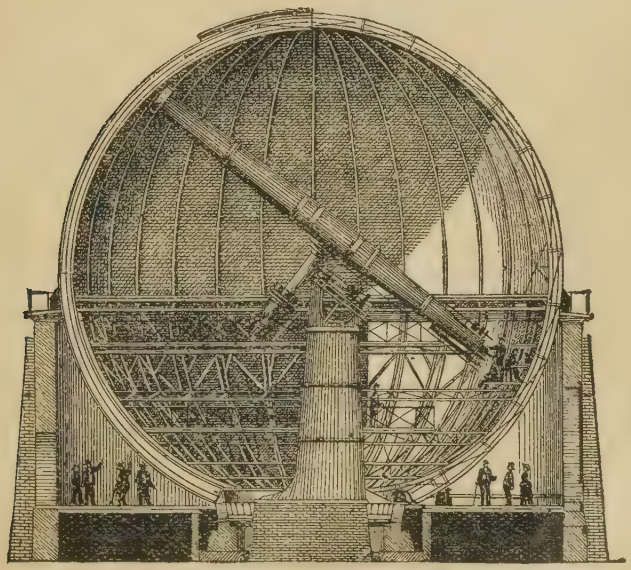
and developing manhood that the Republic has ever produced."

Exalted Sense of Honor.

A peculiar proof of Major McKinley's exalted sense of honor was given at the deadlock in the presidential convention of 1888. A movement on the fourth ballot suddenly set in in his favor, which could have been readily turned into a stampede. But he was there as the pledged friend of Senator John Sherman, and nothing could swerve him from his allegiance. He checked the movement at its beginning, and those who would have tempted him turned back at sight of that earnest countenance and at the ringing tones of that eloquent voice. Almost precisely the same thing was repeated four years later at Minneapolis, when the nomination would have assuredly gone to him, had he not peremptorily checked it, and ordered the delegates from his own State to vote as they had been instructed. The history of recent years shows that not many, placed in the situation of Major McKinley, were able to come out of it unscathed and without the smell of fire upon their garments.

A man like Major McKinley could not fail to make an ideal husband, when blessed as he is with an ideal wife. Both of their children died in infancy, and the wife is an invalid; but though their silver wedding was celebrated in January, 1896, no lovers were ever more chivalrously devoted to each other than are they, now that they have reached the meridian of life. Mrs. McKinley is as staunch a protectionist as her

husband, and is firmly persuaded that no man quite so good and great has ever been born. When he is expected at home, she is at the window watching for him. His last act is to kiss her on the threshold, followed by a turn and salute when about to pass out of sight. No sweeter picture can be imagined than this couple, whose whole life is the most emphatic contradiction of the sneer that "marriage is a failure." The two are members of the Methodist Church, and should they ever be called to the highest station in the gift of the American people, it is certain that none will wear the honors more worthily than they.



THE GREAT DOME AND TELESCOPE OF LICK OBSERVATORY, CALIFORNIA.

CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW,

THE APOSTLE OF SUNSHINE AND CHEERFULNESS.

CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW was born at Peekskill, N. Y., April 23, 1834. His remote ancestors were French Huguenots, who founded New Rochelle, in Westchester county. His father, Isaac Depew, was a prominent and highly esteemed citizen of Peekskill, and his mother, Martha Mitchell, was a representative of the distinguished New England family, one of whose members, Roger Sherman, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Early Career.

Chauncey spent his boyhood in Peekskill, where he prepared for college. He was a bright student, and at the age of eighteen entered Yale College, from which he was graduated in 1856, with one of the first honors of his class. In June, 1887, Yale conferred upon him the degree of LL. D. It will be noted that Mr. Depew reached his majority at about the time of the formation of the Republican party. Although of Democratic antecedents, he had been a close student of politics and his sympathies were with the aims of the new political organization, to which he speedily gave his allegiance.

Mr. Depew studied law in his native village, and was admitted to the bar in 1858. In the same year,

he was elected as a delegate to the Republican State convention, this being an acknowledgment of the interest he had taken in the party, and the skill and energy he had shown in advocating its policy. He began the practice of law in 1859, and was highly successful from the first. Few men of the present day are so gifted with eloquence, wit, and the power of giving an instant and happy turn to the most unexpected interruptions or occurrences. In his early manhood, his striking power as a stump speaker, his readiness at repartee, and his never-failing good humor, made him a giant in politics, to which he was literally forced to give attention. But with all these extraordinary gifts, he could launch the thunderbolts of invective against wrong and stir the profoundest depths of emotion by his appeals. He loved liberty and hated oppression, and has always believed that the United States of America is the happiest and greatest country upon which the sun ever shone. His patriotic speeches are models of eloquence and power.

A Supporter of Abraham Lincoln.

In 1860, he took the stump for Abraham Lincoln and added greatly to his reputation as a ready, forceful and brilliant pleader for that which he believed to be right. No speaker was so welcome as he to his audience, whether composed of scholars, of business men, or of the uneducated masses. He was sure to say something entertaining, something instructive and something worth remembering. He was never dull; he was logical and luminous, and no matter

how lengthy his addresses, he was sure to be greeted with cries of "Go on! go on!" at their conclusion. It cannot be denied that he contributed much to the success of that memorable election.

In 1861, Mr. Depew was nominated for the Assembly in the Third Westchester County District and, although the constituency was largely Democratic, he was elected by a handsome majority. He fully met all the high expectations formed, and was re-elected in 1862. By his geniality, wit, integrity and courtesy he became as popular among his political opponents as among his friends. He was made his party's candidate for Secretary of State directly after the Democrats had won a notable triumph by the election of Horatio Seymour as governor; but by his dash and brilliancy and his prodigious endurance (he spoke twice a day for six weeks,) he secured a majority of of 30,000. So admirably did he perform the duties of the office that he was offered a renomination, but declined.

Attorney of the New York and Harlem Railroad Company.

During the administration of President Johnson, Secretary of State Seward appointed Mr. Depew Minister to Japan, but, after consideration, the offer was declined. He seemed to have decided to withdraw from politics and to devote his time and energies to his profession. That shrewd railway man and financier, Commodore Vanderbilt, had watched the career of Depew, and had formed a strong admiration for him, while the eldest son, William H.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.
President of the New York Central.

Vanderbilt, became his firm friend. In 1866, Mr. Depew was appointed the attorney of the New York and Harlem Railroad Company, and three years later, when that road was consolidated with the New York Central, he was made the attorney of the new organization, being afterwards elected a member of the Board of Directors.

As other and extensive roads were added to the system, Mr. Depew, in 1875, was promoted to be general counsel for them all, and elected to a directorship in each of the numerous organizations. The year previous, the Legislature had made him Regent of the State University, and one of the Commissioners to build the Capitol at Albany.

President of the New York Central.

In 1884, the United States senatorship was tendered to Mr. Depew, but he was committed to so many business and professional trusts that he felt compelled to decline the honor. Two years before, William H. Vanderbilt had retired from the Presidency of the New York Central, and in the reorganization Mr. Depew was made second Vice-President. The President, Mr. Rutter, died in 1885, and Mr. Depew was elected to the Presidency, which office he still holds.

His previous experience had made him thoroughly familiar with all the intricacies and minutiæ of the immense business, its policy, its relations with other corporations, its rights, responsibilities and limitations, and none was so well equipped for the re-

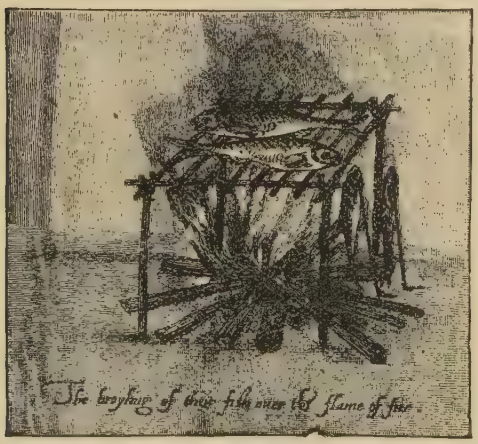
sponsible post as he. "The basilar fact in Mr. Depew's character is a profound and accurate judgment, and this asserts itself in all his manifold relations with men and affairs, and in every effort he puts forth in any direction. Practical common sense, tact, an exquisite sense of the proprieties, a singular aptitude for business, and an intuitive appreciation of the value of means with reference to their ends, are manifestations of this judgment; and if we add a strong will, great executive ability, untiring industry and instinctive love of order, and a readiness to to adopt the best method, an intellect of astonishing range and remarkable promptness in the solution of intricate problems, we have a correct estimate of the qualities which place him in the first rank of railway managers."

At the National Republican convention in 1888, New York voted solidly for Mr. Depew as its candidate for the Presidency, but he withdrew his name. At the convention at Minneapolis in 1892, he was selected to present the name of President Harrison, and made one of the best speeches of his life. When Mr. Blaine resigned as Secretary of State, President Harrison urged Mr. Depew to accept the place, but after a week's deliberation, he felt obliged to decline the honor.

Wit, Logic and Eloquence.

It is impossible in a sketch like this to do justice to the remarkable versatility of Mr. Depew. His admirable addresses would fill several bulky volumes. As an after-dinner speaker he is without a peer, and

his wit, logic and eloquence never fail him. What could be more apt than his words, when, upon entering a public hall where a number of leading men were straining themselves to prove the Christian religion a delusion and a sham, and there were instant and clamorous calls for him, he said: "Gentlemen, my mother's Bible is good enough for me; have you anything better to offer?" And then with touching pathos and impassioned words he made an appeal for the religion which they reviled, which must have pierced the shell of more than one agnostic heart.



(From the Original Drawing made by John White in 1585.
By Permission of the British Museum.)

MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY,

REPUBLICAN LEADER AND U. S. SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA.

MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY stands conspicuous in the political history of this country. Modest, unassuming and reticent, yet brave and courageous, he combines the elements of political leadership with broad and liberal statesmanship.

A man may be a politician without being a statesman, but no man of the present day can be a statesman without being a good politician. There are politics and politicians, but a politician in the nobler sense of the word is one who draws his inspiration from the people and expresses their wants and sentiments in his public acts. Such a man is Senator Quay.

Quay's Tariff Record.

Quay did more, perhaps, than any one in the Senate, for had it not been for his management in giving the McKinley Bill the place of the Force Bill, it would never have passed the Senate. The McKinley Bill was made by the Committee of Ways and Means in the House, of which Burrows and Dingley and Bayne and Payne were members. When it left the Senate it had over 600 amendments to it, of which reciprocity was one, with Blaine for its author.

The McKinley Bill was the work of the Republi-

cans of the Senate and the House and a Republican President. It took the name of the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, as all tariff bills do.

His Life Story.

Senator Quay is in his prime, strong and vigorous mentally and physically—the best results of a well-spent life. He was born in the little town of Dillsburg, York county, Pa. His father was a Presbyterian clergyman. He prepared for college at Beaver and Indiana academies. He then entered Jefferson College, where so many Pennsylvanians have been educated, and graduated there in 1850. He was admitted to the bar in 1854 at Beaver, and was elected Prothonotary in 1856, and re-elected in 1859.

When the war began he joined the Tenth Pennsylvania Reserves as lieutenant, and finally became colonel of the One Hundred and Thirty-fourth Pennsylvania Volunteers. Shortly before the battle of Fredericksburg he was compelled to resign by disability, resulting from a serious illness with typhoid fever. Just as he was ready to return to his home the battle came on. He begged to be permitted to go into action, and against the protest of the regimental surgeon he was permitted to do so. He distinguished himself in that great battle by personal bravery and that rare coolness and judgment that has since always accompanied him in the most desperate struggles, and he is one of the few survivors of the war who holds a medal by act of Congress for heroic conduct in battle.

Since the war he has held several offices, with great credit to himself and benefit to the State. He has been on several occasions delegate to national conventions.

Personal Characteristics.

He lives a quiet, domestic life, loved, respected and honored by a devoted wife and children. He is sympathetic and can hardly resist an appeal for aid. He is what is known among men as big-hearted, devoted to his friends and indulgent to his enemies.

Those who know him best have the greatest respect and admiration for him, and hold him in the same esteem that Grant was held by the Union soldiers. He talks little and listens much. He does not repeat his words or emphasize his adjectives, but means every word he says.

His memory is remarkable; he never forgets a face or a fact. He catches a point at once and understands the purpose of an interview before it is half over. He has taught many all the politics they know, but, as Senator Gorman said, he has never taught any one all that he knows. He is charitable to a fault and never is harsh or unkind to any one. He is never seen in anger, in excitement, or discouraged.

His ability as a man and leader grows upon men as they know him better. There is always a hidden reserve, knowledge and power that is apparent, but undisclosed. He has more friends among the Democrats than any Republican in the State, for while he fights hard, he fights fair and in the open field.

CUSHMAN K. DAVIS,

SENATOR FROM MINNESOTA—HIS STERLING SERVICES IN THE STATE AND NATIONAL COUNCILS.

By Ex-Governor John S. Pillsbury, of Minnesota.

BORN at Henderson, Jefferson county, N. Y., in the year 1839, taken to Wisconsin Territory before he was a year old, and reared there on a farm; receiving his primary education in such schools as Waukesha county afforded in those early days, and his higher education at Carroll College, with a senior year and graduation at Michigan University; pursuing a course of law reading with Governor Randall, of Wisconsin, and gaining admission to the bar at the outbreak of the Civil War; enlisting in a Wisconsin regiment as lieutenant, and engaging with that in the Vicksburg and other campaigns until army fever compelled his resignation; repairing to Minnesota to regain his health, and settling there in the practice of his profession, in which he rapidly rose to a leading place; member of the Legislature, United States District Attorney, and at 35 Governor of the State; elected Senator of the United States in 1887, and re-elected in 1893—such is a skeleton record of the life and career of Senator Cushman Kellogg Davis, prominently named as among those thought worthy to receive the highest honor which can come to an Ameri-

can citizen, in his elevation to the Presidency of the United States.

In tracing the events of the life of Senator Davis more in detail, this fact stands out in prominent relief above all others: that his professional and political careers have been signalized by rare devotion to the welfare of the common people, from whose ranks he has arisen to conspicuous and merited fame. This devotion was early shown in the practice of his profession. The average young lawyer seeks the clientage of wealth, individual and corporate. The practice which came to him, which he sought, and in which he made his reputation, was as the attorney of the wronged and poor. He thus gained the sobriquet of the people's lawyer, a coveted title which has clung to him throughout the years of professional prosperity. He has merited it by persistently rejecting yearly retainers, and holding his services open to the demands of all, the poor as well as the rich.

Devotion to the People.

The same spirit guided him in administering the affairs of the State as Governor. It became evident, even at that early day, that the interests of the masses of the people required that the controlling hand of the State should be put upon corporations, and especially upon railroads, whose charters were burdened with few disabilities and fewer restraints. During his administration the issue was raised whether the State or these corporations were the controlling power, and the decision in favor of the State

C. K. DAVIS.
Senator from Minnesota.

WM. F. VILAS.
Senator from Wisconsin.

was effectual and has proved permanent. The right and power of control by the State has not been questioned since, and the railroads as well as the people have been gainers by the adjustment then first formulated and accepted.

The political beliefs of Senator Davis are founded on the doctrines of the old Whig party, liberalized and humanized as these were by the moral influences which called the Republican party into being.

Liberality in Support of Improvements.

An inheritance from his Whig ancestry, which Senator Davis cherishes as an essential factor in national prosperity, is the system of internal improvements which utilizes the waterways and other facilities that nature has provided so lavishly for the development of vast regions of the country. Liberal in support of the legitimate improvements in all sections, the great lakes of the northwest especially have been to him a fascinating study, and the improvements of the connecting channels of these inland seas and their union with the greater ocean, by ship canal, have engrossed his attention in and out of the Senate. A speech delivered by him in advocacy of improvements at the rapids and along the river of Sault Ste. Marie, was a revelation, even to the people of the Northwest, of the commerce of the lakes and the resources of their tributary regions. It is due to Senator Davis not only that the great works at the Sault have been expedited by years toward completion, but that the costly and tardy system of applying appropriations

for public works which obtained for fifty years has been radically reformed in the reduction both as to the time and expense of construction.

Work for New States.

Senator Davis, though yet only at middle age, rejoices in a numerous political progeny, for the new States of the great Northwest may be said to be his foster-children. For years before he went to the Senate the Northwestern Territories had vainly been seeking admission to the Union, but their entrance had been barred to preserve the balance of power in that body.

His Political Courage.

The courage of Senator Davis, built upon habitual frankness and rectitude, may be termed his leading characteristic. This was exhibited during the labor convulsion of 1894. At a time when the boldest stood aghast with trembling fear over the havoc that, centered in the West, threatened to overspread the land, his clear monitory telegram recalled the authorities to their duty, and set in motion the paralyzed forces of law and order. His courageous act was called an inspiration. To those who know Senator Davis any other utterance would have seemed illogical and false. He could not have withheld his message; and in the urgency of the country's need, the wired lightning was his appropriate messenger. In that message, and in the speech which followed in the Senate, the true measure of the man can be intelligently taken. The speech, thrilling in its inten-

sity, has not been surpassed in a generation. No truer or more comprehensive definition of liberty restrained by law was ever written or spoken than was thrown off by Senator Davis in the white heat of that impassioned declamation.

His Legislative Career.

The limits imposed upon this sketch forbid a detailed account of the legislative career of Senator Davis. Suffice it to say that his status in the Senate is of the first grade and well assured. His committee assignments indicate the estimate in which he is held, and these have been on the Judiciary, Foreign Relations, Military Affairs, Claims and others of lesser account, with chairmanships of Pensions and Territories. It is in these committee rooms that his hardest and most valuable work has been done. He seldom makes a speech in the Senate, and never unless the importance of the measure and his relationship with it render it a necessity. When he does, he speaks to a full Senate. His speeches are extemporaneous, aided by scant topical notes, deliberate and impressive as to manner, clear and concise as to statement, logical and strong as to argument, classic in form and illustration, and as occasion compels they rise on the wings of a pure diction to heights of sustained and thrilling eloquence.

His Rare Qualities.

As to Senator Davis's personal qualities of habit and manner, that depends. That is, it depends

where you see him and in what character. During the hours of professional and official work he is an intensely busy man; and if you will visit him then, it is well to come directly to the point. If you don't, he is apt to bring you there promptly, though not curtly, unless you are a bore. If you are, you may gain new and improving ideas in monosyllable pungency and force. But when he locks his office door, he shuts in there all the perplexing problems that gather for solution on the lawyer's and statesman's table and lets them fester and worry each other, if they will, until nine o'clock the next morning. In the interval he is as light-hearted as a schoolboy. A raconteur, he delights to tell or hear a story with a nub; a witticism with a point, even a pun, if it does not require encyclopedic elucidation. He loves his friends and his books, which the better he might not himself undertake to say; but with both he is genial and companionable.

In habit Senator Davis is domestic almost to seclusion; that is, with a friend or two to share his solitude and make it human. He is a scholar without pedantry, a lawyer uncramped with technicalities; a statesman, but not a politician; a patriot with no trace of jingoism and an American hemispherically broad. A man of affairs, he joins scope with rare inerrancy of vision. His judgment, enriched with the observation and experience gained in forty years' journey along the walks of learning, jurisprudence and statesmanship, from the Waukesha county farm to the United States Senate, joined to the sympa-

thetic, manly and mastering qualities of character which have made that journey a logical progression, marks him a man fitted to fill any higher position to which he may aspire, and to which he may be called by the preference of his countrymen.

IN THE WILD WEST.

STEPHEN B. ELKINS.

ROMANTIC CAREER—A POOR BOY WITHOUT INFLUENTIAL FRIENDS—SUCCESSES IN LAW, BUSINESS AND POLITICS—HIS SYMPATHY WITH WAGE-EARNERS.

By Congressman Alston G. Dayton of West Virginia.

SENATOR ELKINS has always been an earnest, active, vigorous and aggressive Republican, a firm believer in protection and all the cardinal principles of the party. Senator Elkins is a many-sided man, blessed with good common sense and sound judgment, a man of affairs and a successful business man. Our country has passed the formative period in the evolution of Government; it has survived foreign and civil war, and our Government is now firmly established on enduring foundations. We have reached the point where we are now a business people, living in an economic age. Economic and business questions engage the attention of the people and press for solution. Most of the problems to be solved relate to our material advancement and progress. Why not place at the front one who has by his life, unaided but by his own will and energy, shown himself so capable to meet and solve such problems, and whose first act in the Senate saved the country millions of dollars? The administration of the Government and its affairs should be intrusted to a business man; more than ever at this time trained and experienced

business men should control and shape the commercial and financial policy of the Government. The reforming of our currency system, the building up of our shipping interests, our home and foreign commerce, our manufactures, and encouraging our agricultural interests, are the pressing questions. Much of the confusion and chaos that now exist in our methods of finance, and taxation and the administration of the same, is largely due to a want of knowledge of true business principles. Strange to say, in a land of business men, our first President was the only successful business man that ever occupied the presidential chair. Since his time our Presidents have been statesmen, lawyers and military men. The time is at hand in our history when the people want a man for President who is something more than a statesman or a politician. They want a business man, with administrative ability, who knows the people, the whole country, and understands its business interests; one who sympathizes with the wage-earners and at the same time knows what capital deserves.

Standing and Credit as a Business Man.

Senator Elkins started in life a poor boy, without influence and without friends to help him. He was born and brought up on a farm. Whatever he has in the way of means or capital he has acquired by his own efforts. He is a large employer of wage-earners, and enjoys their sympathy and confidence. He has for more than a quarter of a century taken an active interest in national politics; but during all this time

he has been a hard-working business man, and known as such rather than as a politician. During his service as a member of Congress and a Cabinet officer, and in all his business transactions, which have extended from one ocean to the other, there has never been a reflection on his fairness or integrity. His standing and credit as a business man is good, not only where he has lived, but all over the country. In all the walks of life he has made himself popular with all who have known him. He is unostentatious, plain and simple in his manners, and is easily approached by all classes of his fellow-citizens.

Early Life.

A brief sketch of his life will show how his great experience, his wide acquaintance with men, and knowledge of the country has been acquired. He was born in Ohio, reared and educated in Missouri, lived ten years in the Rocky Mountains, and is familiar with the Pacific Coast. He lived eight years in Washington city, twelve years in New York city during the winters, spending the summers in his adopted State of West Virginia, where he now resides in the town bearing his name. Having lived in the East and in the West, he knows both sections and their people as no other man in public life. Mr. Blaine once said that Mr. Elkins knew more men and had a wider acquaintance than any other man in the country. He served as member of the Legislature, Attorney-General and United States Attorney for New Mexico. He has been a member of Con-

STEVEN B. ELKINS.
Senator from West Virginia.

ARTHUR P. GORMAN.
Senator from Maryland.

gress, served in the Cabinet, and is now a Senator of the United States. Senator Elkins was a member of the Republican National Committee for twelve years, and a notable figure in four national conventions. He was the ardent personal friend of Mr. Blaine, and he is the trusted friend of ex-President Harrison.

As a Lawyer.

Mr. Elkins is a lawyer by profession. Judge Thurman once wrote Judge Edmunds, when they were both serving in the Senate and Mr. Elkins in the House, that he was one of the able lawyers of the country. He practiced law with success until 1879, when he gave up the profession and went into general business in the East, and became conspicuously identified with the development of the resources of West Virginia. His railroad, financial and other business interests bring him into close touch with the leading business men of the country, which gives him a large acquaintance with capitalists and knowledge of financial methods.

Active Interest.

In 1880 he invested in coal and timber lands in West Virginia, and, with others, began the building of railroads through the State to develop the same. In 1884 he took up his residence in the State, and since then, as a Republican, has taken an active interest in all State and National political campaigns. He has always believed that West Virginia, with other Southern States, would favor protection and

become Republican as soon as the prejudices and passions of the Civil War should disappear, because only on lines of protection to American industry could the vast resources of the Southern States be developed.

In the campaign of 1894 he carried the State for the Republican party by a handsome majority, broke the solid South, and received the unanimous vote of his party for United States Senator. Senator Elkins is conservative by nature, and brings to the consideration of public questions experience and a practical mind.

Abreast with the Best Modern Thought and Literature.

He speaks and writes Spanish fluently, is a close student, and has always found time from his business and public duties to keep up his studies. He spends his spare time in his library among his books. He is widely read, acquainted with the best authors, and fully abreast with the best modern thought and literature. He is a ready writer and an impressive speaker. He has given much time to the study of economic questions.

The speech delivered by him in 1885 on the industrial question before the University of Missouri, where he graduated, was widely noticed in this country and in Europe. It was regarded at the time as an able statement of the case of labor and capital, and he received congratulations from wage-earners and business men throughout the country.

Sympathizing with the Wage-earners.

Showing how he sympathized with the wage-earners, here is what he said in that address: "To prevent industrial war, to bring about a better distribution of wealth, to regulate the forces of competition, to secure to labor a larger share of the products it helps to create, shorter hours for work, longer hours for leisure and improvement, and to lessen the cares and distress of poverty, is an ambition worthy of American manhood."

In speaking of competition for foreign markets, he used this language: "It is only a question of time when the countries for whose markets there is such a struggle by the more enlightened nations, through machinery and inventions, will not only largely produce what they need, but become competitors in trade and commerce. India and China are learning more than the lessons of war from Europe. They are learning the uses of machinery. Both have coal and iron; both can produce wool and cotton. India with 250,000,000, and China with 400,000,000 of population, with their workers often living on a shilling a day or less, and with their cheap labor, will become not only competitors of England, but all other nations."

He saw with clear vision many years ago that our relations with the far-off Orient would become important, and sooner or later competition in manufactured products from that quarter of the world would be more dangerous to our interests than European competition.

Selling of Government Bonds.

Although a new member of the Senate, Senator Elkins takes an active interest in the leading questions that come before that body. His resolution introduced to prevent the selling of Government bonds under private contract, which President Cleveland did in February, 1895, attracted the widest attention, and his forcible speech in support of the same gave him a commanding position at once in the Senate. For the stand he took on the bond question, so firm and so timely, he received congratulations and flattering expressions from all over the country. The result showed that Senator Elkins was right, as the $100,000,000 of bonds were subscribed for by the people nearly six times over at 111½, thus saving to the Government $7,000,000. One of the greatest financiers in the country wrote Senator Elkins the day after his speech in the Senate that his resolution would save the country over $6,000,000. It did even more. The offering of the bonds to the public, and the overwhelming subscriptions, that were received at a price much higher than when sold under private contract, showed at once that the country was not bankrupt, and restored confidence, well nigh lost, in the ability of the Government to float its loans among its own people.

Senator Elkins showed in his speech that the entire expenses of floating the great loan did not cost the Government as much as the sale of $62,000,000 made by Mr. Cleveland to a syndicate under a private contract. He said, "I want the people to have

a chance to take these bonds. It is their Government and their credit, and their money that is at stake;" and added, "In a republic, there should be nothing secret, nothing hidden from the people by their public servants."

Restoring Discrimination Duties.

Senator Elkins introduced a bill to revive American shipping by restoring the discriminating duties advocated in the early history of the Government by Washington and Madison, and under which American shipping prospered so much.

The bill provides that a discriminating duty of ten per centum ad valorem, in addition to the duties imposed by law, shall be paid on all goods which shall be imported in vessels not belonging to citizens of the United States.

The bill has attracted much attention and has been favorably received. It is a significant fact that the Republican State Convention of Massachusetts recently endorsed this principle by making it a part of its platform. This is the first time in the history of the country that in any State or National convention the principle of discriminating duties as the best means to restore American shipping has been enunciated.

SHELBY M. CULLOM.*

SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS—HIS RISE FROM POVERTY TO INFLUENCE IN THE NATION'S COUNCILS.

SHELBY M. CULLOM, of Illinois, stands before the people of the United States as a presidential possibility at the age of 66 years, ripe in experience, with an extensive knowledge of legislation and fully demonstrated executive ability, and with an almost continuous public service reaching back to 1855.

Environment a Leading Factor.

Considering the subject of environment as affecting and determining the characters of men, it is to be remembered that Illinois occupies a position between the North and the South, and so far east that those returning from beyond the Missouri and Mississippi rivers in large numbers, having gone thence far enough east, settled permanently within her borders. Many hundreds of thousands of the present citizens of Illinois were among those who crossed the plains in 1849 and 1850, or in later years, and have finally settled in the Prairie State.

From Virginia, Kentucky, and farther south, as well as from the East, people have gone to Illinois in preference to the Eastern or more Western States, to such a number as to form there a central point of forces, social, commercial, manufacturing, financial

* By Congressman Edward D. Cooke, of Chicago, condensed by the Editor.

and political, and which forces in a large sense balance each other, with a strong tendency to produce an equilibrium throughout the country.

It is this natural operation, thus briefly outlined, which has made what Eastern people, who do not travel continually and extensively, regard as a Far Western State—in fact, the greatest railroad State, and the third State of the Union in point of population. It was this balancing of forces under the natural law of selection and development that brought the World's Fair to Chicago and made that fair a success beyond the dream of the most sanguine patriot.

As it is with Illinois as a State, so it is with the candidate for the Presidency from Illinois. Shelby M. Cullom is, by force of his own character as an average representative of all the people, a most commanding figure in national political life.

For many years a leader in Illinois, he has grown naturally to be one of the striking characters among the remarkable and able men now receiving the attention of the country as presidential possibilities. Rapid transportation, extended mail service, cheaper telegraphy and marvelous newspaper enterprise have made every leading candidate, together with his history and character, far better known to the people of every section, than was the case in the days of Webster and Clay, Seward and Lincoln.

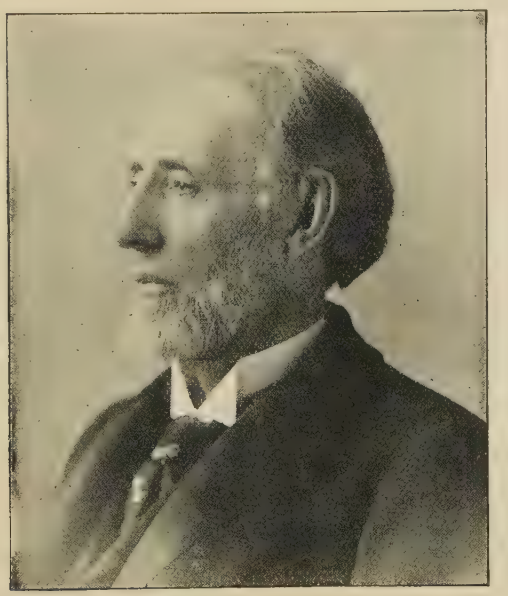
Hence the people are themselves everywhere figuring, considering and prognosticating as to the chances of the various candidates with a completeness

of information and shrewdness of observation never known before.

The name of Shelby M. Cullom, of Illinois, appears upon the large eligible list which this year cannot be tabooed as mere favorite-sonism, and, when his name is read by the thoughtful observers of the natural movements in political bodies, it is at once coupled with that of Lincoln, not merely because Cullom somewhat resembles Lincoln in face, figure and personallty, but because his location, history, temperament, sympathies, attainments, intellectuality and character are quite distinctly those of Lincoln.

As Lincoln was not an Abolitionist in the heated politics of his time, but a Union man, so Cullom is not a specialist or a radical upon protection or any other subject; as Lincoln prudently and with profound wisdom limited his hostility to the slave power so as to meet the judgment of the nation, progressing only as the people moved, so Cullom has defined his position upon protection and reciprocity, inter-state commerce, foreign relations and finance, along the lines the country can adopt without radicalism. Cullom responds to the sentiments of the people he represents.

The law of selection prevails in the election of leaders, and the needed man stands ever ready to be chosen. Looking closely into the situation, it will be seen that, in the same sense in which Blaine was a follower of Clay and Hamilton, Cullom is a follower of Lincoln's methods and system in politics and statesmanship.



SHELBY M. CULLOM.
Senator from Illinois.

CHARLES F. MANDERSON.
Senator from Nebraska.

Cullom is available for President for substantially the same reasons for which Lincoln was selected. Candidates not close enough to the people at the very many important points of contact were rejected by the wise fathers of our party until it came to Lincoln, whose selection is now regarded as an almost direct intervention of Providence.

Shelby M. Cullom is a genuine man, accustomed only to a high plane of statesmanship, with a great capacity for friendship and loyalty. "Once a friend of Cullom, always so," is an Illinois maxim, within which is enfolded the character of the man and is seen the sure guarantee of his steadiness of purpose and elevation of motives. His career shows he has never made a political mistake.

Cullom's Great Public Career.

As no man can be safely trusted to entertain sympathies apart from his environments, or to act against the settled habits of his lifetime, it is important to know what have been the circumstances of Cullom's life, and what are his habits, attitude and inclinations as a public man.

The general surroundings, character and genius of the State which produced Cullom have been already discussed as deeply affecting his eligibility. In Illinois Senator Cullom has steadily risen from the humble position of a farmer's boy, who at the plow earned his own education, to that of a member and Speaker of the lower House of the State Legislature, member of Congress thrice elected, again

elected to the Legislature, and again elected Speaker, elected Governor and re-elected to that office—and three times elected as United States Senator from his State; he now holds a conspicuous position as one of the foremost men in America.

Advancing steadily without serious protest from any source, he has stood and now stands before the people a poor man in wordly goods, but rich in the confidence and good opinions of his fellow-citizens. Transferred from one high position to another through a lifetime of strenuous public labor and acceptable service, maintaining all his friendships, his high, unsullied character, his ideals, his purity of devotion to the public good, and coping all the while with the vicissitudes of shifting politics, he certainly has possessed and displayed a high order of judgment, temperament, humanity, force and powers of leadership, which, combined with wide and profound knowledge pertaining to the history, wants and interests of the country, place him in the first order of statesmen. That statesmanship is exemplified by the things he has done.

Following the example of Lincoln and Douglas, in 1856 Cullom began his political life by entering the race for membership in the lower House of the General Assembly, was successful, and took his seat at the succeeding session. He had always been in sympathy with the principles of the then new Republican party, and being a warm personal friend of Abraham Lincoln, was one of his strongest supporters for the United States Senate in 1858.

Living in the same city with Mr. Lincoln, Cullom enjoyed the closest intimacy with that great man, and his friends constantly observe the influence Lincoln has exerted upon the character and career of Cullom. In 1860 he again became a candidate for the Legislature, and although the county gave the Douglas electors a small majority, such was his personal popularity that he was returned to the House by a majority of sixty-two votes.

The Republicans then, for the first time, secured ascendency in the Legislature, and Cullom, on account of his generally admitted qualifications for the position, received the caucus nomination for Speaker, and was elected, being the youngest member upon whom that honor had ever been conferred in Illinois. As a presiding officer he graced the position with rare dignity, fairness and courtesy, evincing a comprehensive grasp of its complicated duties such as had rarely been seen in any American parliamentary body since the days of Henry Clay.

In 1862 Cullom was appointed by President Lincoln, in connection with Governor Boutwell, of Massachusetts, and Charles A. Dana, of New York (now editor of the *Sun*), a commissioner to examine and pass upon the accounts of quartermasters and United States disbursing officers. This was an important service, which required the exercise of discriminating care and sound judgment, as is shown by the able report which was presented.

Elected to Congress.

In 1864 he received the Republican nomination for Congress. The canvass was most exciting, and its issue showed that Cullom had succeeded in overcoming a Democratic majority of 1,365, and transforming it into one of 1,785 in his favor. During the interesting period of reconstruction, when the best thoughts of the ablest men of the nation were brought into constant requisition in the effort to solve the multitude of perplexing problems presented, an examination of the *Congressional Globe* reveals the fact that he was an active and aggressive member, taking his full share in the debates.

He heartily favored the various amendments to the Constitution, and in the memorable contest between the legislative and executive branches of the Government gave his support to the Congressional policy of reconstruction. Having been appointed chairman of the Committee on Territories, he was the first to recognize the necessity of promptly dealing with the difficult question growing out of the practice of polygamy in Utah. He introduced a bill on that subject, entitled, "An act in aid of the execution of the laws," providing stringent measures for the suppression of polygamy, and succeeded in securing its passage by the House.

Cullom was re-elected in 1866, and again in 1868, but in 1870 a factious opposition to him had been fomented, which resulted in the nomination of another candidate and in the loss of the district to the Republicans. In 1872 he was again returned as a mem-

ber of the State Legislature, and was once more elected Speaker. In 1874 he was, for the fourth time, chosen as the Representative of Sangamon county in the General Assembly, and would undoubtedly again have succeeded to the Speakership but for the successful combination of Independents and Democrats which controlled the organization.

In the Governor's Chair.

It was at this time that the friends of Mr. Cullom began to put forward his name as a candidate for Governor of the Prairie State. His fitness for the position, by reason of his ability and large experience in public affairs, although yet a young man, was admitted on all hands, and when the State Convention met in the Centennial year, it was found that a large majority of the delegates were favorable to his nomination.

His election followed, and in the administration of the State Government, Governor Cullom developed the highest qualities of statesmanship, was able to keep expenditures within due and economical bounds, to discharge the last cent of State indebtedness, and to exercise an intelligent supervision over the State institutions, benevolent, educational, penal and reformatory. These were tasks to the accomplishment of which he bent the the best powers of his mind. Wherever the interests of the State fell within the purview of the executive department, the most patient and thoughtful attention was bestowed upon them.

At the end of his four years' administration of State affairs not a word could be urged against the Governor's executive policy even by his political oponents, and he was elected to serve a second consecutive term, the first instance of the kind in the history of the State.

At the expiration of the term of David Davis as United States Senator from Illinois, in March, 1883, Cullom was only midway through his second Gubernatorial term, but the Republican caucus nominated him to represent Illinois in the United States Senate, and he was accordingly elected. He was again elected to the Senate in 1889, and was, in 1895, elected to his third Senatorial term, which he now fills.

Cullom became Governor of Illinois soon after the enactment of the so-called Granger legislation in several Western States, looking to the regulation by the States of the rates of transportation by railroads. The law of Illinois on that subject provided, at first in a crude way, against the charging of discriminating rates, and oppressive or unreasonable rates. Much litigation ensued, followed by amendments of the law, which, on the cases reaching the Supreme Court of the United States, were finally sustained, rendering the statutes operative in the interest of the people.

Unswerving Rectitude.

That series of statutes and legal decisions is the first in the history of any State or Nation by the result of which the State regulation of railroad charges

was established. Other States in America and Europe followed along similar lines. During thas pioneer period of Granger law-making Cullom was Governor of Illinois. He took steps to test and enforce the laws and became, through his thorough and painstaking methods as a representative of the people, standing between the railroad corporations and the shipping interests, the best posted and equipped man in America upon the great and far-reaching subject of railroad transportation as affected by the operation and restrictions of law.

The unswerving rectitude and absolutely judicial fairness of judgment and motives displayed by the Governor in dealing with the subject of the railroads under the law was only equaled by the heroic courage and adamantine will displayed in grappling with the subject at all. A mere time-server, dallying with vital, far-reaching interests, would have let the question severely alone, for fear of the gigantic influences supposed to be controled by railroad magnates.

Here, again, as in the case of polygamy, Cullom, undaunted by the delicacy or magnitude of the task, pursued the method of Lincoln by boldly and calmly grasping the entire subject with an iron hand, guided by a gentle tact which meant no harm to any honest interests. As soon as he entered the United States Senate, Cullom took up the task of providing a law of the United States for the regulation of inter-State commerce.

Courage and Strength as a Public Servant.

Perhaps his commanding courage and strength as a public servant have been made most prominently known to the country through his introduction and championship of the inter-State commerce bill, which he successfully guided through both Houses of Congress. The importance, if not the necessity, of governmental control of railways had long been recognized, but the persistent agitation had no practical outcome, and little had been done on the subject in the Senate until the task was assumed by the new Senator from Illinois. The opposition to this class of legislation was exceedingly difficult to overcome, and it required the utmost tact and patient skill to insure success. How this was eventually compassed by Senator Cullom is a matter of history and full of interest; but present lack of space forbids describing it at length.

Suffice it to say that the law was passed and has been in full operation ever since. While it is doubtless imperfect and is not accomplishing all that its friends had hoped, it has afforded a large measure of relief to the shipping interests of all sections, and it forms an essential entering wedge, which, in the end, will very largely contribute to a more just and equitable, if not finally perfect solution of the problem of inter-State commerce and transportation.

Amendments of the law have been found necessary from time to time to render its provisions operative. The latest advance toward perfecting the law was made by the decision of the Supreme Court of

W. A. PEFFER.

Populist Senator from Kansas.

the United States some time ago. That important and far-reaching decision, by an almost evenly divided court, after able arguments, upheld as legal and constitutional the amendment of February 11, 1893, which was introduced by Senator Cullom, in substance compelling witnesses to testify upon prosecutions for illegal practices forbidden by the act, even though their testimony might tend to criminate them as individuals, immunity from the criminal prosecution of such witnesses, in such cases, being guaranteed by the amendment so sustained. No more just or important legislation has ever been passed in America than the inter-State commerce law.

Early Life and Education.

Shelby Moore Cullom, son of Richard Northcraft Cullom and Elizabeth Coffey Cullom, was born in Monticello, Wayne county, Ky., November 22, 1829. His father removed to Tazewell county, Ill., the following year; he was a prominent and influential Whig in his time and frequently represented his district in both Houses of the General Assembly.

He was a farmer, and the embryo Senator was early accustomed to the homely fare and rough work incident to farm life in a comparatively new country. His hands soon learned to swing the ax and guide the plow, and it was in such pursuits as these that he acquired that magnificent physical strength which, in the long years devoted to public service, has made labor easy and toil a pleasure. Young Cullom had

early in life decided to adopt the law as his chosen profession.

His ambition and determination led him to the practical consideration of the ways and means necessary to his educational equipment. He prevailed upon his father to lend him a team of oxen and a plow, and with this primitive outfit began the battle of life on his own responsibility, and engaged at breaking prairie at $2 per acre.

During his boyhood days educational advantages in the West were limited, but the curriculum of the country schools was sufficient to equip a young man for the practical battle of life. Fortunately, he was enabled to spend two years in study at Rock River Seminary, at Mount Morris, though, in order to maintain himself, he found it necessary, as did Blaine, Garfield and others, to devote some time to teaching. In 1853 he entered the office of Stuart & Edwards, at Springfield, and began the study of law.

His health becoming impaired through over-exertion, his progress was slow; but persevering, after a rest on his father's farm, he was admitted to the bar and began the practice of law in 1855. Soon after this he was elected City Attorney in Springfield and was initiated into active practice. He recommended himself to his brother lawyers by his studious and abstemious habits, and his faithful attention to the interests of his clients.

The bar of Springfield at this time was the ablest in the State. That Nestor of the Illinois bar, Stephen T. Logan, headed the list, closely followed by Stuart,

Lincoln, Edwards, Conkling, Hay, McClernand, Zane, and others. Springfield, being the capital of the State, was also the rallying point of all its leading lawyers.

After trying petty municipal cases and passing through the ordeal of the Justice's Courts, young Cullom entered upon a broader field of practice. In the Circuit Court he found a higher plane for the exercise of his talents, and here he was pitted against some of the foremost practitioners of those days. As an advocate, his presentation of a case before the jury was always concise and logical. His object was to explain rather than to confuse; to convince rather than to dazzle.

Mental Characteristics—Domestic Life.

From the foregoing sketch and estimate of Senator Cullom's national status, public services and private career, it will be naturally inferred that his mental characteristics are not those of outward brilliance and show; but of solid, practical force, keen and unerring discernment, blended by a superb temperament, common sense and tact of the highest order.

It will be seen also that he is endowed with great firmness of decision, will power and continuity of purpose, which, guided by a sound moral courage and enlightened sense of right and justice, renders him a positive force and original character, who has come legitimately to the position he holds. He possesses a strong intellect, carefully trained and disci-

plined to the unerring habit of reaching safe, reasonable and right conclusions.

As a speaker, he is entertaining and convincing rather than ornate or rhetorical in style. Yet he possesses, and when aroused displays great powers of oratory, as was demonstrated when, in 1872, he placed General Grant in nomination at the national convention, and at a similar gathering when he performed the same service for General Logan, surprising and delighting his friends by his masterly presentation of the merits of those illustrious men.

In person Senator Cullom is tall and spare, his hair is black, but turning gray, his forehead high and massive, his eye firm, but kindly, and often seen to twinkle with merriment, as, half mournfully, his deep, pleasant voice gives utterance to some good-natured jest or humorous story. When in earnest, there is no mistaking the meaning of the light in Cullom's eye. His whole nature is there revealed.

The Senator's natural ease of carriage and grace of manner, his constant attitude of welcoming everybody to his friendship and confidence, without the slightest condescension, have contributed in no small degree to his popularity. He is in excellent vigor and strength at a little over 66 years of age, and has the prospect of many years of usefulness before him.

Senator Cullom, being a poor man, necessarily lives in a quiet, unostentatious style. Mrs. Cullom, the youngest sister of Mr. Cullom's first wife, is one of the most modest and retiring women at the

capital, but a woman of marked intelligence and sterling character, in every way as unbending as her Presbyterian faith.

In discharging the duties of her high position she is most affable and cordial to all. Ever since her marriage to Senator Cullom he has occupied most distinguished positions, and she has fulfilled her duties with great credit to herself and fidelity to her husband's interests. Her equipoise of temperament is most attractive and has left its impress upon her handsome, not to say beautiful face, which is that of a very much younger woman than the calendar shows her to be.

AN INDIAN WARRIOR.

CHARLES H. PARKHURST,

THE CHAMPION OF MUNICIPAL REFORM.

FEW names have of late been more prominently brought before the notice of the people than that of Charles H. Parkhurst of New York city, a reformer in the truest sense of the word. He was born in Framingham, Massachusetts, February 17, 1842. When he was about eleven years old the family moved to Clinton, in the same State. Here young Parkhurst attended school, was clerk for a time in a store, and prepared himself for college. He entered Amherst in 1862 and was graduated in 1866.

The Formative Period of His Life.

He was Principal of the Amherst High School for two years, and continued in the profession of teaching for some time afterward; but feeling that he was called to the ministry, he went to Germany, studying at Halle, Leipzig, and Bonn. During this formative period of his life he was greatly influenced by his mother, who helped him with his studies, having been a teacher herself. But aside from home training, the most salient influences of his life came from his fortunate association while at Amherst College with its late President, Julius H. Seelye. It was on the recommendation of President Seelye that the Congregational Church at Lenox, Massachusetts, engaged

young Parkhurst as their pastor on his return from Europe. Indirectly, President Seelye was the means of bringing the future reformer to New York. As a preacher his style is not specially finished, but his discourses are epigrammatic, independent, practical and full of force. He is far from being what is known as a popular preacher.

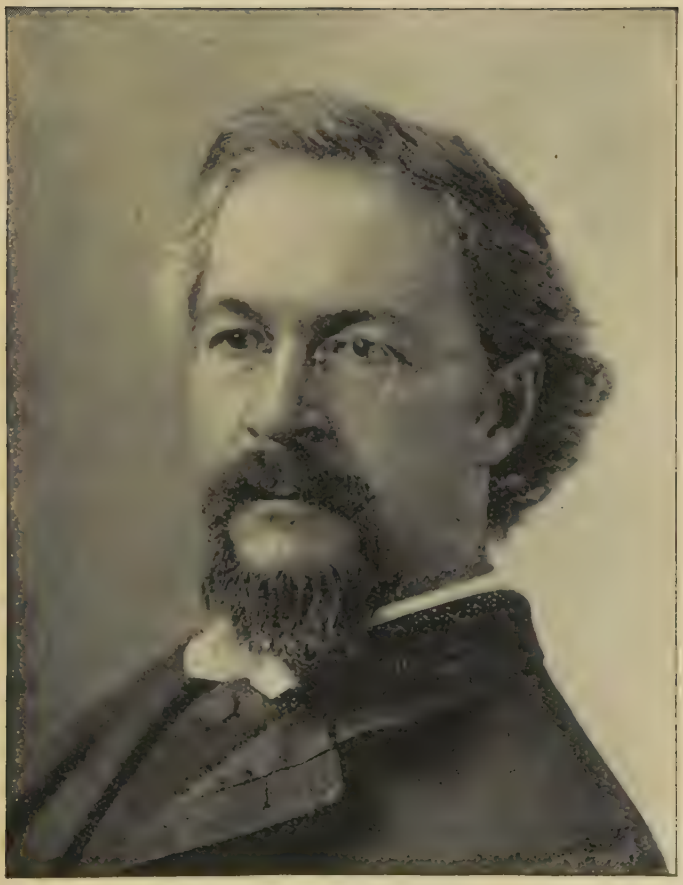
Municipal Reform.

In the course of his parish work, he became much interested in young men, and was led to look into the opportunities which they had in the great city for rational enjoyment and recreation. He was much impressed in discovering how much vice abounded, and how great are the allurements in a large city to draw young men away from purity of life and manners. He found that within a very short distance of his own church there were haunts of the grossest vices, accompanied by manifold devices to attract and hold young men. In the course of further investigation he became satisfied that these places, though well known to the police, were left unharmed, or were connived at; that, of the numerous saloons, not a few were unlicensed, and that a large Sunday trade was carried on in spite of the law. He had become a member of the New York Society for the Prevention of Crime, and in 1891, on the death of its president, Dr. Howard Crosby, he was chosen to succeed him. He made a point of his acceptance that the society should devote itself mainly, not to the bringing of lawbreakers to justice, but that it should use all the

influence and power it had to make those who were bound to see that laws should be enforced, do their duty. In other words, that the society should attack the police officers, and men who, in conniving at crime and infraction of the laws, were "the abettors and accessories of those crimes which are the result of the disposition to immorality, to gambling, and to drink." "We shall never suppress these crimes," he said, "until we suppress the influences which make it possible for them to exist." As a part of the campaign he preached a sermon February 14, 1892, in which he attacked the administration of the city with unsparing hand.

"I Know."

During the next four weeks, through detectives and through personal visits, Dr. Parkhurst secured two hundred and eighty-four cases of gross violation of law, and on March 13th he preached his second sermon, in which he could say: "I know." When summoned before the Grand Jury, his testimony was unimpeachable and had great effect, for the jury in its charge boldly condemned the police. It is needless to say that Dr. Parkhurst's arraignment created a great sensation, for his sermons were reported and commented upon in every newspaper of the city. The individuals who were attacked at first smiled and paid little attention. Many who were his friends said he was righteous overmuch; others said he was an alarmist; others, that he sought notoriety; others ridiculed him, or showed indignation at his methods;



CHARLES H. PARKHURST.

The Champion of Municipal Reform.

some even said he was a public nuisance. Still he kept on until by his charges and proofs he forced an investigation by the Legislature. The revelations made before the investigating committee abundantly confirmed Dr. Parkhurt's allegations. Police officers in high positions were brought to trial and convicted and others fled. The community was shocked and disgusted by the revelations, and, as a result of the movement begun by the fearless reformer, the elections of November, 1894, completely overthrew the political ring in control of the city, which was now placed in charge of men pledged to reform, and to honest and faithful administration of the laws.

Triumph.

It is not too much to say that had it not been for the able and untiring efforts of Dr. Parkhurst, this revolution would not have taken place. He well deserves the triumph he has gained. Every newspaper speaks of him with respect, and no one dares to ignore him. It is a personal victory probably unequaled in this country, and the effect has not been limited to New York. Encouraged by his success, men elsewhere, who were hopeless of accomplishing anything in the direction of reform, have been nerved to greater efforts, and good citizens have been roused to do their part in supporting Municipal Reform by their voice, their influence and their votes.

RICHARD P. BLAND,

ORIGINATOR OF THE "BLAND DOLLAR."

Richard Parks Bland was born near Hartford, Kentucky, in 1835, and while very young was deprived by death of both of his parents. It was never his good, or possibly ill, fortune to be nursed in the lap of luxury, for he was obliged to work hard throughout the summer months in order to gain the privilege of attending school during winter; but the lad met all these hardships cheerfully and applied himself so closely to his studies that he easily took rank among the very best scholars in school.

While so many of his classmates, however, were satisfied with such a moderate amount of schooling, it only served to whet the appetite of young Bland. It did not require any profound knowledge in those days for a youth to fit himself to "keep school"—a little book-learning, an aptitude in imparting instruction, and most important of all, the will and muscular power to restrain and hold in subjection the burly lads, being the requirements. Bland possessed all these, and, determined to advance further along the line upon which he had started, he taught school, lived with the closest economy and saved all he could until he had enough to permit him to attain to a higher education.

His academic course completed, young Bland bent all his energies to the study of law, in which in due

course he successfully passed examination, and entered upon the career which has proved for so many the path to honor and distinction. He held no public office until elected a Democratic representative from Missouri in the 43d Congress, He entered upon his duties December 1, 1873, and was re-elected regularly thereafter until 1894, when he met defeat at the hands of Joel D. Hubbard, Republican.

The "Bland Dollar."

Mr. Bland is most widely known as a powerful and uncompromising advocate of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. As chairman of the coinage committee, he reported the bill for free coinage, in 1875. Under the provisions of this act the secretary of the treasury was to purchase each month sufficient bullion to coin 2,000,000 of silver dollars of 412½ grains each, to be considered as legal tender. This coin is popularly known as the "Bland Dollar." The Senate, however, substituted the Allison Bill, providing for limited coinage, the amount to be not less than $2,000,000 nor more than $4,000,000 a month. Coinage under this law began in 1878.

Mr. Bland possesses the courage of his convictions, for, in his advocacy of the free coinage of silver, he has never stopped to ask whether such advocacy was acceptable to his party or whether it would help or mar its prospects. He has continued its unswerving champion throughout. This fact has served to direct national attention to him, especially during the last few years. The growth of silver mining in the

West, where it has become an industry of stupendous proportions, has strengthened the demand for the unlimited coinage of silver, until the advocates have made themselves felt in both parties. Important as the tariff issue unquestionably is, there are many who maintain that it should be subordinated to the currency question. While the East is strenuously in favor of "sound money," or the single gold standard, the West is equally strenuous for two standards—gold and silver—with the aim to keep a parity between the two values. This dispute, referred to elsewhere, is one which must play a prominent part in the great questions of the day for an indefinite time to come.

OLD DUTCH CHURCH, NEW UTRECHT, LONG ISLAND.

WILLIAM R. MORRISON,

EX-CONGRESSMAN FROM ILLINOIS.

WILLIAM R. MORRISON is a native of Illinois, having been born in Monroe county, September 14, 1825. At that day, so comparatively recent, the wolves howled on the present site of the imperial city of Chicago, and the State itself was sparsely settled; but the fertility of the soil and the natural resources of the commonwealth were beginning to attract attention. It was admitted to the Union seven years before the birth of Morrison, and when he was seven years old the Black Hawk War broke out. Stirring as were the events of that brief struggle, they caused less excitement in some parts of the State than did the advent of the Mormons in 1840. It was during that intense agitation that Jo Smith, the founder of the order, was killed and the sect finally driven westward.

Like so many of our public men, young Morrison spent his boyhood on a farm, toiling industriously and attending the country schools as opportunity offered. He acquired a good common-school education, and later became a student at Kendree College, in his native State.

He had just attained his majority when the Mexican War broke out, and he was among the first to volunteer as a private in Colonel Bissell's regiment of Illinois volunteers. As in all stations of life, he

did his duty manfully, and served to the close of hostilities.

In the House of State Representatives.

He returned to his native country, where he was elected clerk of the supreme court in 1852–1854. His predilection was in the direction of law, and, pursuing his studies, he was admitted to the bar in 1855, the town of Waterloo being chosen as the opening field for the profession in which he was destined to become distinguished. At the close of his term, he was elected to the House of State Representatives, of which he was a member until 1860, being elected Speaker during each of the last two years.

Soldier.

The clouds of civil war were then gathering over the land, and again he volunteered in the service of his country. That he had not forgotten the training on the plains of Mexico was proved by his appointment as Colonel of the Forty-ninth Illinois infantry, which he commanded at Fort Donelson. In that terrific battle, fought in February, 1862, 15,000 Confederate prisoners were captured by General Grant, who thus won the first important victory of the war. Colonel Morrison was among the bravest of the Union officers, and was dangerously wounded.

In the Congress.

Retiring from the army, he was elected a Representative from Illinois in the Thirty-eighth Congress, as a Democrat, receiving 10,999 votes against 6,854

for Smith, Republican. He served from December 7, 1863, to March 3, 1865. He ran again for the Thirty-ninth Congress, but was defeated by Jehu Baker, who, in a total vote of more than 23,000, received a majority of less than 100. Morrison was again defeated by Baker at the next election, when, turning his attention to State politics, he was sent to the Legislature, where he served in 1870–1871. In the election for the Forty-third Congress his Republican opponent was John B. Hay, whom he defeated.

The "Morrison Bill."

Morrison now had plain sailing until 1887, when his evil genius, Jehu Baker, again defeated him by a small majority. Morrison was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee from 1873 to 1875. In that capacity he reported the tariff bill which is known by his name; but, as will be remembered, the bill failed to become a law. The Inter-State Commission was appointed by act of Congress, February 4, 1887, with jurisdiction of rates on inter-State traffic, and power to inquire into the management of the business of all common carriers subject to the provisions of an "Act to regulate commerce."

The "Reagan Bill."

In 1884, Representative Reagan of Texas had submitted a bill to the House for the regulation of inter-State commerce, and about the same time a similar bill passed the Senate, but both failed. Discussion followed with each session of Congress until, on the

date above named, the Reagan Bill was passed and approved. It provided for the appointment of a commission consisting of five persons, whose duty it was to see that railroad and other such companies established and preserved a just and uniform rate of transportation. This bill specially affected such corporations as control continuous lines from one State to another, either by land or by water or both. It has been very effective in preventing unfair discriminations in charges for freight and issuing of passes. Mr. Morrison was appointed a member of this commission by President Cleveland, and subsequently became chairman in place of Hon. T. M. Cooley, which position he still holds.

The Proper "Timber."

He is one of the most prominent of the Democratic leaders, and has been mentioned more than once as the proper "timber" from which to make presidential candidates. He is an able, conscientious, and high-minded man, and, should it ever become his fortune to occupy the chair of the Chief Executive, he is certain to give his country a worthy and creditable administration.

HORACE BOIES.

Ex Governor of Iowa

HORACE BOIES,

EX-GOVERNOR OF IOWA.

LIKE many of the foremost men of our country, Horace Boies was a farmer's boy, having been born on a farm near Aurora, N. Y., some eighteen miles south of Buffalo, on the 7th of December, 1827. His father was of remote French descent, and his mother of English stock.

The son worked industriously on the farm during the summer months and attended school in winter. The country schools of those days were in wide contrast to the educational institutions of the present; the text books were poor, the seats hard and the teachers were generally selected more with a view of "keeping order" among the large and unruly boys than for their skill in imparting knowledge. Young Boies was a good student, and by close attention to his studies stored his mind with helpful knowledge. Yielding to his desire to go west and "grow up with the country," he left New York at the age of sixteen, but was hardly settled amid his new surroundings when he received news of the death of his mother. He immediately returned to his old home, where with his usual energy he resumed his school studies and read law, supporting himself by doing chores for his neighbors.

Young Boies laid the foundations broad and deep, and was admitted to the bar in 1852. He hung out his

sign at Hamburg, near Buffalo, where he became so favorably known that three years later he was elected to the Legislature as a Republican, that party then being in its infancy. While he did not attain marked prominence as a leader, his talents, ability and integrity won the respect of political enemies as well as friends.

Mr. Boies, some time later, was married to Miss Adelia King of Aurora. Her health became so frail that the young husband saw that if he would preserve her life, a permanent and radical change of climate was necessary. His eyes were once more turned westward, and, in 1867, he took up his residence in Iowa. Despite the removal and the loving care of her husband, the wife soon died.

Mr. Boies has always been a sagacious and far-seeing man. He was quick to perceive the future of the State which he had now made his home. The moderate savings which he brought with him were invested in fertile farm land, to which he added from time to time as he was able, until his possessions numbered nearly 4,000 acres, including a farm and 1,000 acres in Palo Alto county. He had fully 500 cattle, and when not in public office Mr. Boies has personally managed his property. The rugged outdoor life, to which he became accustomed in his youth, not only resulted in giving him a splendid physique, but imbued him with a love for a farmer's life which will always remain with him. Although profoundly interested in politics, it is safe to believe that he finds more real enjoyment in looking after his big

farm than he does in all that politics can bring him. By his second wife, formerly Miss Versalia Barber, he has two sons and one daughter.

Mr. Boies is one of the most effective jury lawyers in the country. He has a winning, persuasive way which few people can resist, while he is logical, incisive and convincing with those that are more cultured than the majority of his fellows. Had he chosen to locate in one of our large cities, he would have earned a princely income from the practice of his profession.

Popularity with the Democrats.

Having started out as a Republican, Mr. Boies remained with the party until 1882, when he joined the Democrats, because of his dissatisfaction with the sumptuary legislation in Iowa. He was strongly opposed to the Prohibitory law, and fought it vigorously up to the last hour. He voted for Cleveland, and in 1884 stumped Iowa in the interest of tariff reform. This course increased his popularity with the Democrats, who nominated him for Governor in 1889. He was elected by a plurality of 6,523. Two years later he received a plurality of 8,216, on the largest vote ever cast in the State.

Governor.

Few public men increase their strength and personal following by their manner of administering the affairs of office. As a rule, at the end of his first term, the incumbent finds that the majority of his supporters have become his enemies, and that a re-

nomination is out of the question, but the figures just given prove that Mr. Boies is one of the exceptions whose popularity grows with his public service.

One of the "Idols of his Party."

To-day there is no member of his party held in higher esteem, and it is no disparagement to his rivals in politics to say that not one of them could poll a larger vote than he, should he become a presidential candidate. He was among the prominent men put forward for the nomination in 1892, and received 103 votes against 114 for Senator Hill, who was regarded as the most formidable opponent of Cleveland, and whose nomination, as will be remembered, was ardently supported by the delegates from his own State.

Since 1892 Mr. Boies has lived on his farm in Iowa, dividing the practice of his profession with his duties as a farmer, but he is one of the "idols of his party," and to those who carefully note the trend of the times, it will not come as a surprise to hear of his nomination for the highest office in the gift of the American people.

Our Former Presidents.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS—ORIGIN OF POLITICAL PARTIES—LEADING EVENTS OF EACH ADMINISTRATION—INFORMATION NECESSARY TO UNDERSTAND QUESTIONS OF TO-DAY.

When the office of President was to be filled for first time, grave problems were to be solved. The hardship and suffering of the struggle for independence were yet present in the minds of all men; the weakness and failure of the Government instituted by the Articles of Confederation had compelled an attempt "to form a more perfect Union;" the eyes of the civilized world were upon the struggling people, and to men who had not an abiding faith in the principles for which the battles of the Revolution had been fought, it seemed that the experiment of popular Government was to end in early, complete, and appropriate catastrophe.

In such circumstances, it was well that the public needs were so great and so immediate as to make men willing to forget their differences and consider measures for the common good; and particularly was it well for the future of our country that there was one man upon whom all could agree as uniting the wisdom, the moderation, the experience, the dignity necessary to the first President of the United States.

George Washington, 1732–1799. Two Terms, 1789–1797.

George Washington was the only man ever unanimously elected President. He undertook the duties of the Chief Magistracy with a deep sense of their importance and their difficulty, but with the courage and devotion which characterized all his conduct. He selected for his Cabinet men of widely different political views, but men whose names were not new to Americans, men whose past services justified the belief that they would find means of leading the country out of its present difficulties, and of setting the affairs of the Government on a sure foundation. Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox and Randolph might well be trusted to concert wise measures.

Washington's second election was, like the first, without opposition, and for four years more he continued to guide the affairs of State. A national bank had been established early in his first term, and also the Philadelphia Mint, and the currency of the country was now on a fairly satisfactory basis; a census had been taken in 1790 and showed that the country had already begun to grow in population, and the outlook was much more favorable than four years earlier.

John Adams, 1735–1826. One Term, 1797–1801.

Upon the announcement of Washington's retirement, the two parties, which had been gradually developing an organization, prepared to contest the election of the second President. The Federalists, who advocated a strong central Government, favored

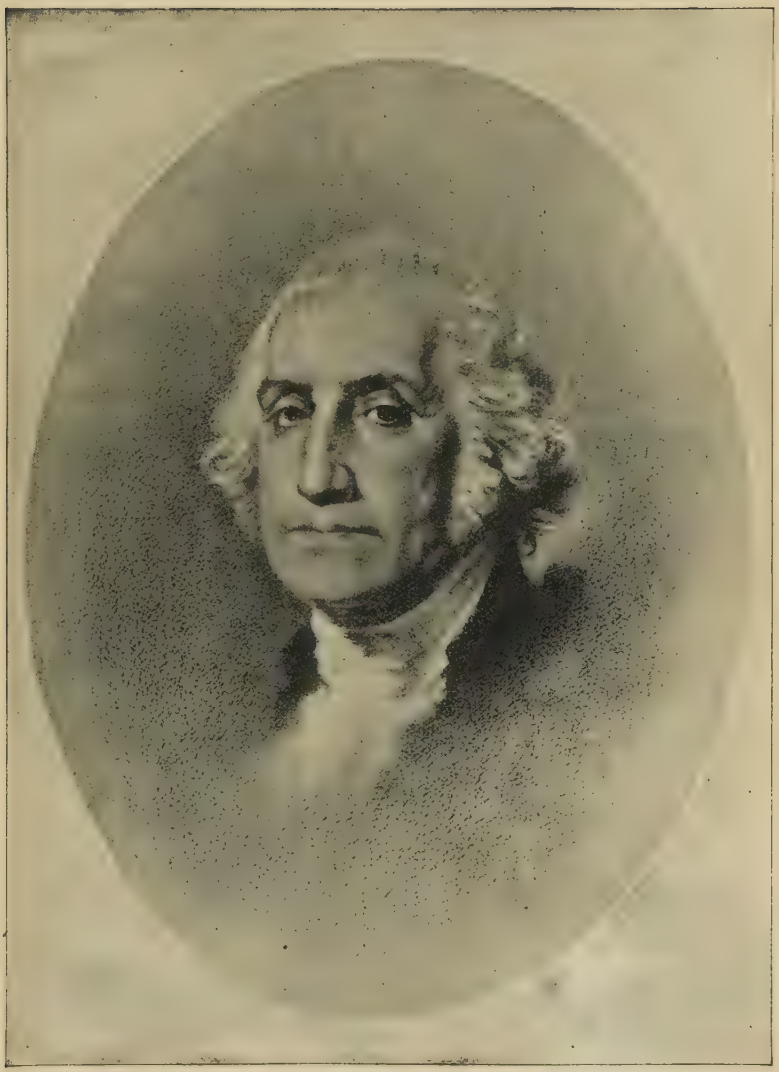
John Adams, and the Republicans, who "claimed to be the friends of liberty and the rights of man, the advocates of economy, and of the rights of the States," desired the election of Thomas Jefferson. The Federalists were in a slight majority, and Mr. Adams was elected. He was a native of Massachusetts, and had borne a leading part in the struggle for independence and the development of the Government. He was one of the leaders in Massachusetts in resisting the oppressive measures which brought on the Revolution; he seconded the resolution for the Declaration of Independence, and assisted in framing that remarkable document; with Franklin and Jay, he negotiated the treaty which established our independence; he had represented his country as Minister to France, and to Holland, and was the first United States Minister to England; he had been Vice-President during Washington's two administrations, and was now to assume office as the second President.

His Presidency opened with every prospect of war with the French. That nation had taken offence because we preserved an attitude of neutrality in their contest with Great Britain. They actually began war by capturing our merchant ships, and the French Directory refused to receive the new United States Minister, while three commissioners, who were sent to make one more effort for peace, were insulted. Under the influence of the war spirit thus excited, the Federalists in Congress passed two acts, known as the Alien and Sedition Laws, which resulted in the

downfall of their party. The former gave the President authority to order out of the country any alien whom he considered dangerous to its welfare, and the latter was intended to suppress conspiracies and malicious abuse of the Government. They excited great opposition and were almost immediately repealed. The war had already been terminated on the accession of Napoleon Bonaparte to power in France.

Thomas Jefferson, 1743—1826. Two Terms, 1801—1809.

Mr. Adams failed of re-election, largely because of the division of sentiment in regard to the French war. His great patriotism, high moral courage, and his ability as a statesman, were somewhat marred by a strange lack of tact, and a stupendous vanity, which sometimes made him ridiculous, but his countrymen could well afford to forget such minor faults, and remember only his manifold services in their common cause. He was succeeded by a man no less great. Thomas Jefferson was the son of a Virginia planter, received his education at William and Mary College, studied law and engaged in its practice. He resolved, on entering public life, never to engage, while in public office, in any kind of enterprise for the improvement of his fortune, nor to wear any other character than that of a farmer. When he came to the Presidency, his country already owed him much. As a member of the Continental Congress he wrote the draft of the Declaration of Independence; returning to Virginia, he inaugurated a reformed system of



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

laws in that State, and becoming its Governor, rendered invaluable aid to the army during the closing years of the Revolution; he shared with Gouverneur Morris the credit of devising our decimal system of money; he succeeded Franklin as Minister to France, and on his return from that post, was informed that Washington had chosen him for the first Secretary of State. He wished to decline further public service, but, "It is not for an individual," said he to the President, "to choose his post; you are to marshal us as may be best for the public good." A difference of three electoral votes made Adams President and Jefferson Vice-President, but in 1800 a political revolution reversed the majority and made him the third President. Although a leader of a party, he exerted himself to allay partisan rancor, and he resolutely refused to make official positions for his political friends by removing from office men whose only offence was a difference of political opinion.

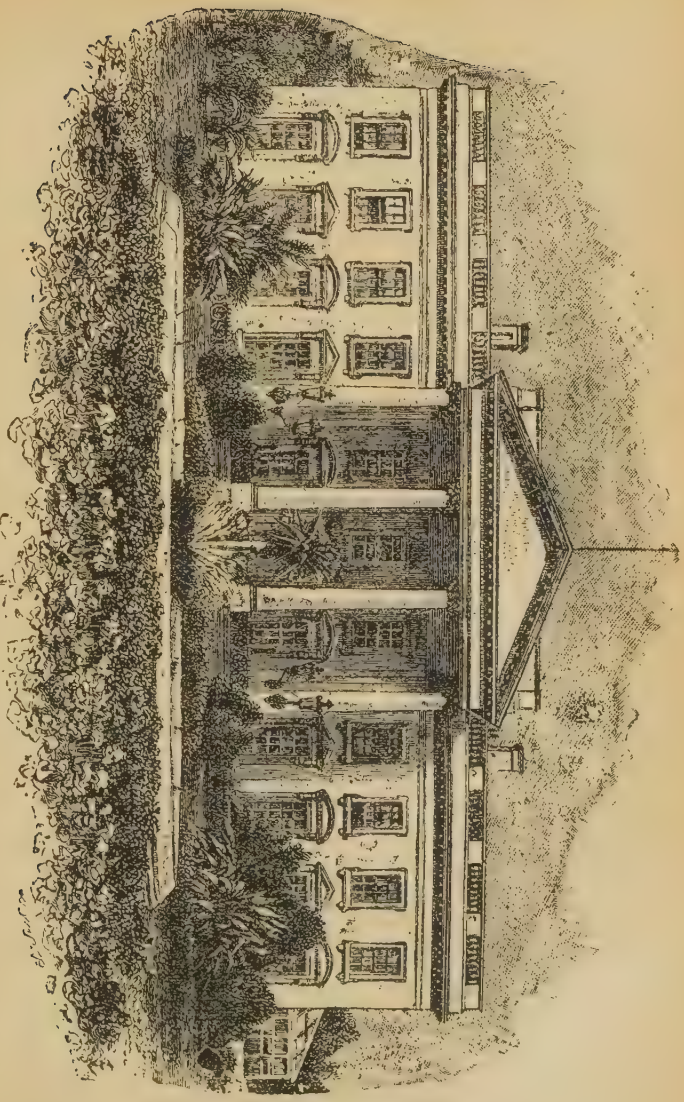
Jefferson was re-elected by a largely increased majority. During his administration, the territory of Louisiana was purchased from France; the famous expedition of Lewis and Clarke set out to explore this new domain; the importation of slaves was forbidden; the pirates of Tripoli and Algiers were suppressed; the first steamboat began to navigate the Hudson, and the growing troubles with Great Britain and France caused the enactment of laws called the Embargo and Non-intercourse Acts, intended, by cutting off our commerce with those countries, to

compel them to respect our neutrality. These two measures resulted in little but failure, as they caused great distress at home, and were repealed before they could have much effect abroad.

James Madison, 1751–1836. Two Terms, 1809–1817.

When James Madison came to be the fourth President, he found the difficulties with England and France still unsettled. These countries being ancient enemies, and being almost continually at war, it was almost impossible to be on friendly terms with one without making an enemy of the other; neither would respect our rights as a neutral nation; each was in the habit of seizing and selling our ships and cargoes bound for the ports of the other, and England, in addition, assumed the right to search our vessels, examine their crews, and compel to enter her service any sailor who had been an English subject. These troubles were not new. Jay's treaty, in 1795, had vainly attempted to adjust a part of them, and as our country grew in strength, it gradually became impossible for the people longer to submit.

The War of 1812, the "Second War for Independence," occupied most of Madison's administration, and though not vigorously conducted, it demonstrated the military and naval resources of the country and caused the American flag to be respected all over the world; and by cutting off the supply of foreign goods, it compelled the starting of cotton and woolen mills in this country, and this resulted in the building up of home manufactures.



THE WHITE HOUSE, AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Presidency of Mr. Madison is not the portion of his career upon which his fame rests; his best services to his country were in his work as a constructive statesman. In the shaping of the Constitution and in securing its adoption he shared with Hamilton the chief honors. He was, doubtless, happy when, at the close of his second administration, he could retire to his Virginia estate and spend the remaining twenty years of his life in scholarly ease.

James Monroe, 1758–1831. Two Terms, 1817–1825.

Madison was succeeded by another Virginian, a gallant soldier of the Revolution, who had laid down his books at William and Mary College to complete his education in the Continental army. James Monroe was eighteen years old when he took part in the battle of Trenton, and his record justified the confidence with which his countrymen universally regarded him. In his inaugural address he took as a symbol of the enduring character of the Union, the foundation of the Capitol, near which he stood to deliver the address, and which had survived the ruins of the beautiful building recently burnt by the British.

"Era of Good Feeling."

So popular was President Monroe, and so wisely did he administer the affairs of State, that on his reelection there was no opposing candidate, and he lacked but one of a unanimous vote in the electoral college. This vote was cast for John Quincy Adams, simply in order "that no later mortal should stand in

Washington's shoes" in being unanimously elected. Monroe's two terms comprise an eventful period in our history; the Government pensioned its Revolutionary soldiers and their widows, spending in all sixty-five million dollars in this noble work; Florida was purchased from Spain; the National Road was begun at Cumberland, Md., finally to extend as far as Illinois, and to be of inestimable service in the opening and development of the West; but the subject which took the deepest hold upon the minds of the people was that of the extension of slavery. Following the "Era of Good Feeling" ushered in by Monroe's administration, came a serious division in public feeling as to whether slavery should be permitted in the northern part of the territory west of the Mississippi. The question arose so suddenly and was so fiercely debated, that Jefferson declared that it terrified him, "like a fire-bell in the night," and he feared serious trouble between the States, the actual outbreak of which was postponed, by a series of compromises, for a period of forty years. Henry Clay's Missouri Compromise quieted the quarrel for some twenty-five years.

"Monroe Doctrine."

President Monroe is perhaps most widely renowned as the author of the "Monroe Doctrine"—that no European nation has a right to interfere with the affairs of any American State—a doctrine to which our Government has steadily adhered. It is interesting to note that the man who had served his

country so well in the high position of its Chief Magistrate was willing, after the close of his second term, to accept so humble a post as that of Justice of the Peace, and so continue a public servant; but it is sad to relate that Mr. Monroe's great generosity and public spirit left him, in his old age, embarrassed by debt, and necessitated the giving up of his residence at Oak Hill, in Virginia, to end his days in the home of a son-in-law, in New York.

John Quincy Adams, 1767–1848. One Term, 1825–1829.

The "Era of Good Feeling" had left no organized national parties in politics, and there were four candidates voted for to succeed Monroe. This resulted in there being no majority in the electoral college, and the final choice was therefore made by the House of Representatives, John Quincy Adams thus becoming the sixth President. He was, perhaps, as well equipped for the position, at least in breadth of information, knowledge of state-craft, and experience in political affairs, as any man who has ever filled it. At the age of fifteen he was secretary to the Minister to Russia; after graduating at Harvard, and practicing law for a few years, he became United States Minister at the Hague, and afterwards at Berlin, St. Petersburg and London; he had represented Massachusettes in the National Senate, and during the Presidency of Mr. Monroe he had been Secretary of State. His administration was not marked by any measure of national importance, but is notable as the era in which a number of projects for the promotion

of commercial intercourse met with the success they deserved.

We have already mentioned the National Road. It was no more important than the Erie Canal, "Clinton's Big Ditch," as it was derisively called, which was opened in 1825; and the experiments with "steam wagons" resulted, in 1828, in the opening of a line of raiload which now forms part of the Baltimore and Ohio system. The first spadeful of earth was turned by the venerable Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, the only survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, who remarked, in so doing, that he considered this among the most important acts of his life, "second only to that of signing the Declaration of Independence, if second to that."

It is also to be noted that this era marks the beginning of that social movement which in less than seventy years has resulted in so marked a change in the views of Americans regarding the use of intoxicants.

Andrew Jackson, 1767–1845. Two Terms, 1829–1837.

Andrew Jackson, the seventh President, was the first who was not a citizen either of Massachusetts or Virginia. He was also the first who was not already known to his countrymen as a distinguished statesman. He was exceedingly popular, however, owing to his military services and to his energetic, honest and fearless, though headstrong, character. He had led a strange and eventful life. In his boyhood he had known all the hardships and privations of absolute

poverty; at the age of fourteen he was a prisoner of war, and nearly starved by his British captors. He studied law and emigrated from North Carolina to Tennessee. After that territory became a State he represented it in Congress, and for a short time in the Senate. He was continually involved in quarrels, fought several duels and made many bitter enemies as well as many warm friends. His success in leading the Tennessee militia against the Indians gained for him the reputation which caused his appointment to command in the Southwest near the close of the war of 1812, and his brilliant defence of New Orleans gave "Old Hickory" a place in the hearts of his countrymen, which resulted in their electing him to succeed John Quincy Adams as President, and his ability and integrity were so manifest that he was re-elected in 1832 by the electoral votes of all the States except seven.

An Interesting Period.

No period of our history is more interesting than the eight years of Jackson's administration. He was the first President to dismiss large numbers of officials in order to replace them by his own partisans. The anti-slavery movement took definite shape during this time, and William Lloyd Garrison began the publication of the famous *Liberator*, and American literature had its beginnings.

At this time came the first serious danger of a rupture between the States. It grew out of the tariff legislation, which South Carolina, under the lead

CAMPAIGN SPEECHMAKING IN EARLIER DAYS.

of John C. Calhoun, undertook to nullify. The payment of the duties was refused, but the President sent General Scott to Charleston to enforce the law, and under the advice of Henry Clay a new and more satisfactory tariff was adopted. This difficulty and Jackson's determined opposition to the United States Bank, his fight against it, resulting in its destruction, are the events of this administration, which produced the most marked and lasting effect upon our national history. After the close of his second term he lived in retirement at his home, the famous "Hermitage," near Nashville, until his death, eight years later.

Martin Van Buren, 1782–1862. One Term, 1837–1841.

Martin Van Buren had hardly entered upon the duties of the Presidency when the great panic of 1837 occurred. It resulted from a variety of causes, among which may be mentioned the great number of worthless banks which sprang up after the discontinuance of the United States Bank; the prevalence of wild speculation, particularly in land, and the action of the Government in demanding that the banks should repay its deposits in coin. One good effect of this great public calamity was the establishment of a Treasury of the United States, independent of any bank or system of banks.

It was during this administration that the Mormons formed their settlement in Nauvoo, Illinois, and in 1840 a regular line of steamships was established between Liverpool and Boston.

Mr. Van Buren was a native of New York, had

served his State in various offices of trust, including that of Governor, had been its representative in the United States Senate, had been Minister to England, Secretary of State during most of Jackson's first administration, and Vice-President during his second. He continued, for several years after the close of his term as President, to take an active part in politics, and in 1848 he was the candidate of the anti-slavery Democrats, or "Free Democracy," for President, after which he took no part in public affairs, though he lived at his native place, in Columbia county, New York, until nearly the middle of the war of the Rebellion.

William Henry Harrison, 1773–1841. One Month, 1841.

For forty years the Democrats had retained control of the National Government, but the administration of Van Buren had not been popular, and the change in public sentiment was so great that in the election of 1840 he was defeated by General William Henry Harrison, who had been the unsuccessful candidate four years before. The political campaign was the most exciting that had yet occurred; the enthusiasm for the Whig candidate was very great, and the "Log-cabin and Hard-cider" campaign will be long remembered.

The character of the successful candidate justified high expectations of his administration. Left at an early age to depend upon himself, he had entered the army and won distinction under General Wayne, in the Indian wars; he had been long identified with

the development of what are now Indiana and Ohio; had represented Ohio in the United States Senate, and filled several other offices of more or less note, and was living, when elected, on his farm, not far from Cincinnati. He made a judicious selection of Cabinet officers, but within a month after his inauguration, and before any definite line of policy had been established, he died, after a very brief illness, probably caused by the fatigue and excitement of his inauguration.

John Tyler, 1790–1862. One Partial Term, 1841–1845.

John Tyler was the first Vice-President of the United States to become President. He had been made the Whig candidate largely from motives of policy, as he had been an active Democrat, and as a member of that party had been elected Governor of Virginia, and had represented that State in the United States Senate. He had, however, been opposed to both Jackson and Van Buren, and had for some time been acting with the Whigs. He soon quarreled, however, with the Whig Congress, the subject of contention being the proposed revival of the United States Bank. This quarrel continued throughout the presidential term, to the great hindrance of public business. Two events which marked a new era, the one in our methods of communication, the other in the relief of human suffering, took place during this time; they were the invention of the electric telegraph, and the use of ether in surgery. The events of greatest political importance were the settlement,

by the Ashburton treaty, of a troublesome dispute with Great Britain, concerning the northeastern boundary of the United States, and, just at the close of Tyler's administration, the annexation of Texas.

SHOP IN WHICH THE FIRST MORSE INSTRUMENT WAS CONSTRUCTED FOR EXHIBITION BEFORE THE SENATE.

The latter was a step which had for some time been under discussion, it being advocated by the South as a pro-slavery measure, and opposed by the anti-slavery party. Texas had made itself independent of Mexico, and asked to be annexed to the United

States, a request which was thus finally granted. Mr. Tyler returned to private life at the close of his presidential term, and took little part in public affairs until the breaking out of the Civil War. At the time of his death he was a member of the Confederate Congress.

James Knox Polk, 1795–1849. One Term, 1845–1849.

The Democrats were again successful in 1844, and on March 4, 1845, James K. Polk became the eleventh President. He was a native of North Carolina, but in boyhood had removed with his father to Tennessee. He was well educated, and was unusually successful in his profession of the law. He was for fourteen years a member of Congress and was Speaker of the House for five consecutive sessions. On his declining a re-election to Congress he was made Governor of Tennessee, and as a candidate for the Presidency in 1844 was successful in uniting the warring factions of the Democrats. He came to the Presidency at a critical time. The annexation of Texas had involved the country in difficulties with Mexico, and the question of the northern boundary west of the Rocky Mountains threatened to interrupt the cordial relations between the United States and England. The latter question was settled by accepting the parallel of forty-nine degrees of north latitude, thus making the boundary continuous with that east of the mountains, but the trouble with Mexico culminated in war, which resulted, in less than two years, in the complete conquest of that country. California

and New Mexico were ceded to the United States on the payment of fifteen millions of dollars and the assumption of certain debts of Mexico. It was just at this time that gold was discovered in California, and the wonderful emigration to that Territory began. Mr. Polk survived his presidential term only some three months.

Zachary Taylor, 1784–1850. One Partial Term, 1849–1850.

The pendulum of popular favor had again swung over to the side of the Whigs, and their candidate was elected the twelfth President. General Zachary Taylor had grown up amid the privations and difficulties of frontier life in Kentucky. By the influence of Madison, the then Secretary of State, who was a relative of the family, he received an appointment as lieutenant in the United States Army, and served with great distinction in the Indian wars which then harassed our frontiers. At the time of the annexation of Texas he was in command of the army in the Southwest, with the rank of Brigadier-General. His management of affairs during the time which preceded the Mexican War was marked by great discretion, and his brilliant conduct of the opening campaign brought him great popularity and led to his nomination for the Presidency by the Whigs, to the great chagrin of some of the leaders of the party, who saw in his success the disappointment of their own ambition, and who distrusted a candidate who had no experience in legislative or executive affairs. This distrust, however, has not been shared by the

majority of the people, either in the case of General Taylor or of other presidential candidates of purely military renown, and such a candidate has usually been sure of success.

The question of the extension of slavery was again being fiercely agitated, and seemed once more likely to disrupt the country. General Taylor lived only some sixteen months after his inauguration, dying before the heat of the debate in Congress had abated.

Millard Fillmore, 1800–1874. One Partial Term, 1850–1853.

The Vice-President, who, by the death of General Taylor, came to be the Chief Magistrate of the country, was Millard Fillmore, of New York. He was an admirable type of the American citizen, owing this high position to his own attainments, and to his own unaided exertions. He received no pecuniary assistance after his fourteenth year, except a small loan, which he punctually repaid. With exceedingly little previous education, he began, at the age of nineteen, the study of law, which he prosecuted under the most adverse circumstances, but so successfully as to place him in the front rank of the lawyers of the State of New York. He was for several terms a member of the lower House of Congress, where he distinguished himself as a wise, prudent, honest legislator. He was Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means which framed the tariff of 1842, and although he claimed no originality for the principles on which it was based, he is justly entitled to be considered its author.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin."

His presidential term is chiefly remembered by the debate in Congress on the extension of slavery in the territory gained by the Mexican War, resulting in the adoption of the compromise measures proposed by Henry Clay, including the Fugitive Slave Law. This law, which gave the owners of runaway slaves the right to call on all citizens to assist in arresting and restoring them to their owners, was exceedingly unpopular in the North, and did much to prevent Mr. Fillmore's renomination, and to increase anti-slavery sentiment in the North.

Mrs. Stowe's famous story, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," was published in 1852, and had a great influence in hastening the impending conflict. At the close of his term Mr. Fillmore retired to Buffalo, where he resided until his death, in 1874.

Franklin Pierce, 1804–1868. One Term, 1853–1857.

Again the Whigs were retired from control of the National Government and a Democratic President elected. Franklin Pierce had been a life-long resident of New Hampshire. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College, was widely known as an able and sucessful lawyer, and though his name was not especially connected with any great measure, he had represented his State in both Houses of Congress. He expressed in his inaugural address the belief that all questions concerning slavery should be considered settled by the compromise measures of 1850, and the hope that "no sectional, or ambitious, or fanatical

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

excitement might again threaten the durability of our institutions or obscure the light of our prosperity."

"Crystal Palace."

Among the notable events of his administration may be mentioned the international exhibition in the "Crystal Palace" in New York, in 1853, in which the pre-eminence of Americans in the invention of labor-saving machinery was manifested; the expedition of Commodore Perry to Japan, which resulted in opening to American commerce the ports of that interesting country, which no foreigners had previously been allowed to enter; and the adjustment of a dispute with Mexico concerning the western portion of the boundary between the two countries, resulting in the purchase by the United States of a considerable district, included in the present territories of Arizona and New Mexico. But the facts which chiefly characterize this administration concern the irrepressible conflict about slavery. The Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 repealed the Missouri Compromise, and made the question of slavery in all the Territories optional with the people of the Territories, as had been done by the Compromise of 1850 for the territory acquired from Mexico. The passage of this law led to much ill-feeling and to great efforts by both Northern abolitionists and Southern slaveholders to encourage the emigration of their sympathizers to Kansas, in order to govern the decision in regard to slavery. The strife of these opposing parties became so serious as to result in much blood-

shed, and from 1854 to 1859 that Territory deserved the name of the "Bleeding Kansas," and during much of that time it was in a state of civil war.

James Buchanan, 1791–1868. One Term, 1857–1861.

Mr. Pierce took no prominent part in public affairs after his retirement for the Presidency. The Whig party had now finally disappeared, and in the election of 1856 the Democrats were once more successful. James Buchanan was a Pennsylvania lawyer, a graduate of Dickinson College, and so prominent in his profession that his name appears in the *Pennsylvania Reports*, between 1812 and 1831, more frequently than that of any other lawyer. He had served ten years in Congress, had represented his country as Minister to Russia and to England, and as Secretary of State under President Polk had been called upon to adjust questions of the gravest and most delicate character.

"Dred Scott Decision."

At the opening of his administration the public strife was greatly allayed by the general confidence in the ability and the high patriotism of the President; but the announcement of the "Dred Scott Decision," which had been deferred so as not to give new cause for excitement during a presidential campaign, stirred the nation to a degree before unknown. This decision declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional, and therefore void, that Congress has no right to forbid the carrying of slaves into any

State or Territory, and opened all the Free States to at least a temporary establishment of slavery. This was the beginning of the end of the contest. The attempt of John Brown, a citizen of Kansas, with about twenty men, to liberate the slaves in Virginia, their seizure of the Government buildings at Harper's Ferry, their capture, and the hanging of the leader, with six of his men, only hastened the final conflict.

Panic of 1857.

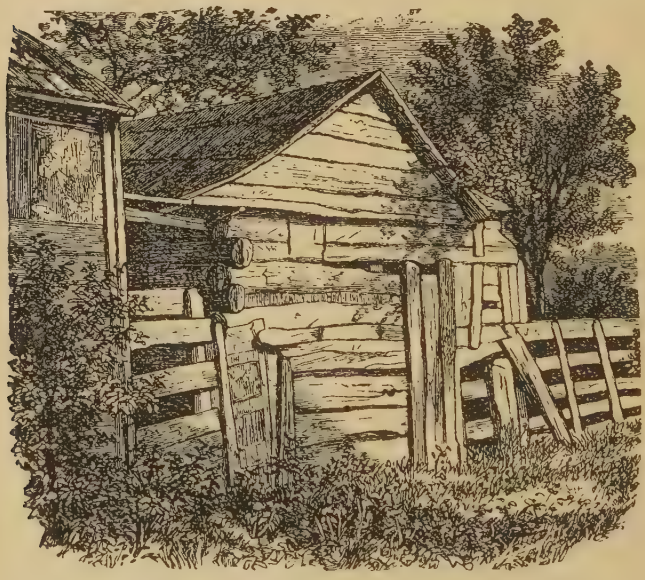
A great business panic occurred in 1857, and the discovery of silver in Nevada and Colorado the following year; the no less important discovery of petroleum and natural gas in Pennsylvania occurred in 1859.

After the presidential election of 1860 it became evident that the South would not quietly submit to the defeat which they had received, and South Carolina, followed by six other Southern States, adopted "ordinances of secession," assuming to dissolve their union with the other States, and declaring themselves free and independent nations. The President took no action to prevent secession, and most of the forts, arsenals, and other national property within these States were seized. Mr. Buchanan retired to private life at the close of his term as President.

Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1865. Two Terms (Died in Office) 1861–1865.

Of all the men since Washington who have been Presidents of the United States, Abraham Lincoln

holds the largest share in the affections of the people. His lowly origin, his early poverty and privation, the never-failing kindness with which throughout his life he met all classes of men, and the homely and genial wit which enlivened his discussion of grave matters of State as well as his casual and friendly conversa-



LINCOLN'S BOYHOOD HOME IN KENTUCKY.

tion, gave him a place in the hearts of the common people not held by any other American, while his unequaled knowledge of men, his ability to cope with unforeseen difficulties, his lofty purpose and perfect honesty, together with his practical good sense, not only brought him the respect and esteem of all who came to know him, but place him among the greatest

statesmen, not of America alone, but of all countries in all times.

Born and reared in the backwoods, with nothing in his surroundings to stimulate ambition, chopping wood and splitting rails, learning to read from the

HOME OF LINCOLN AT GENTRYVILLE, INDIANA.

spelling-book and the Bible, sitting up half the night to read Pilgrim's Progress and Æsop's Fables "by the blaze of the logs his own axe had split," he came to manhood with little education, but with perfect health and gigantic strength. At the age of twenty-five he took up the study of law, and early began to

take part in the local political movements. He had represented his district in Congress, but at the time of his nomination for President had little reputation outside of Illinois.

The Civil War.

He came to the Presidency amid a multitude of adverse circumstances. With seven States already seceded, the border States apparently ready to follow, with the capital surrounded by a hostile population, and without the confidence of the leaders of his own party, his would indeed seem a difficult task. His first measures were intended to convince the people of the South, if they were willing to be convinced, that he had no hostile intention, but at the same time that he proposed to "preserve, protect, and defend" the Union, and to maintain the rights and the authority of the Government. The story of the War of the Rebellion cannot be told here. It is a story the like of which forms part of the history of no other nation—the story of a war engaging at one time 1,700,000 men, the war debt of the North, representing but a part of the cost of the war, amounting to $3,000,000,000, and the expense frequently exceeding $3,500,000 a day.

Emancipation Proclamation.

Aside from the essentially military features of the war, the most notable event of Mr. Lincoln's administration was the freeing of the slaves, which was done as a war measure, by the Emancipation Procla-

mation, January 1, 1863, thus finally, after the expiration of nearly a hundred years, making good in our country the words of the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created equal."

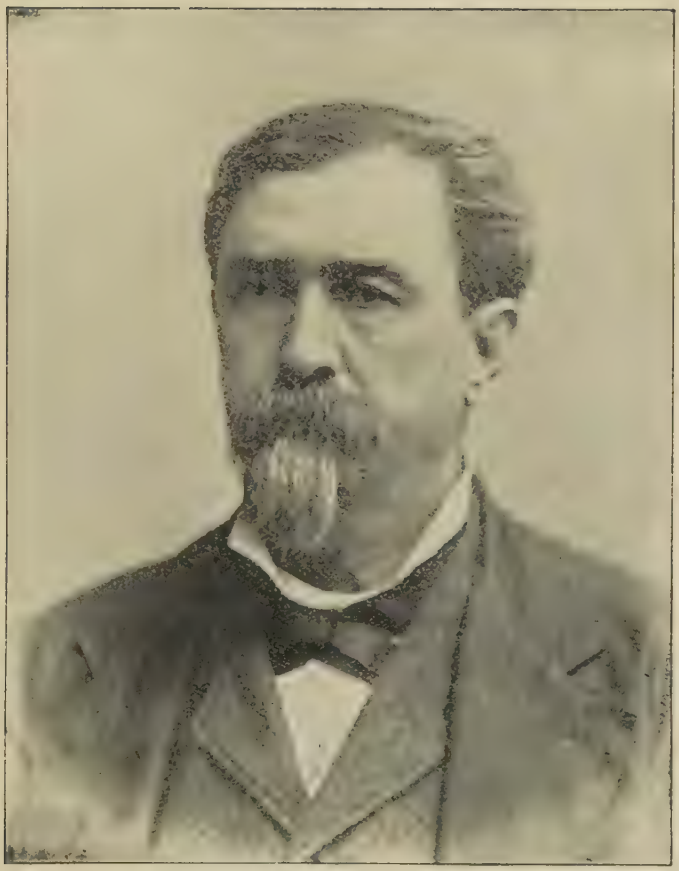
It can be truthfully said that President Lincoln carried the administration of the Government in this troublous time, not only as a load upon his brain, but as a burden in his heart; a united country was the object of all his efforts, and when, only a month after his second inauguration, he was assassinated by a misguided and mistaken Southern sympathizer, the bullet of the murderer removed as true a friend as the South possessed. The war was already at an end, and had Abraham Lincoln lived to rebuild and reconstruct the Union he had saved, many of the difficulties of the era of reconstruction might have been avoided—difficulties whose evil effects have not yet disappeared from our national politics.

No fact in our history demonstrates more fully the perfection of our system of Government and the hold which it has upon the confidence of our people than the quiet change of Chief Magistrates at the close of a presidential term. Four times in our history this change has been caused by death, and now, when the beloved President had been assassinated, when the whole country was excited and alarmed, when grave questions were pending and matters of the utmost delicacy required adjustment, the Vice-President quietly assumed the office, and the routine of Government proceeded as before.

Andrew Johnson, 1808–1875. One Partial Term, 1865–1869.

Andrew Johnson was a native of North Carolina. He was the son of poor parents, and, learning the tailor's trade, he earned his living for a number of years as a journeyman. He taught himself to read, and after emigrating to Tennessee he learned from his wife to write and cipher. He represented his district for several terms in Congress, and was chosen United States Senator in 1857. He was nominated for Vice-President by the Republicans in 1864, mainly to invite votes from the opposite party, as until the war he had been a consistent Democrat. Unfortunately, he differed with the leading Republicans in Congress on the question of the manner in which the States lately in rebellion were to resume their places in the Government, and the difference grew into a violent quarrel, which lasted till the close of his term, and resulted, in 1868, in the impeachment of the President by Congress. He was acquitted, however, the vote in the Senate lacking one of the two-thirds necessary to convict. The chief political events of the administration were the readmission of six of the seceded States and the adoption of three amendments to the Constitution—the Thirteenth, abolishing slavery; the Fourteenth, making the negro a citizen and the Fifteenth, giving him the right to vote.

During this time, also, the Government began the payment of the war debt, the first Atlantic cable was laid, and Alaska was added to our national domain.



DANIEL W. VOORHEES.

Senator from Indiana.

Ulysses Simpson Grant, 1822–1885. Two Terms, 1869–1877.

The success which had attended the Union armies after they passed under the command of General Ulysses S. Grant made him the popular idol and obviously the most available candidate for President. He was a native of Ohio, a graduate of West Point, and had served in the Mexican War, where he was promoted for meritorious conduct in battle. At the opening of the civil war he raised a company of volunteers in Illinois, of which State he was then a citizen, was soon made a brigadier-general, and from that point the story of his life is a part of the history of the war.

General Grant was the recipient of honors from foreign rulers and Governments such as have been bestowed upon no other American President. His fame as a general was recognized throughout the world, and although he had no experience in civil affairs, he had the tact to call into his Cabinet men of great ability, and while he may have been sometimes misled by designing men, his administration was so popular that he was re-elected by a greatly increased majority, and indeed might have been chosen for a third term had not the public feeling been found so strongly opposed to violating the custom inaugurated by Washington of giving to no President more than two terms of office. During these two terms the first Pacific Railway was completed; representatives from all the remaining seceded States were admitted to Congress; a treaty was concluded with England providing for the arbi-

tration of the Alabama and other claims, which seemed at one time likely to involve the two countries in war; the great fires in Chicago and Boston destroyed many millions of property; a panic of almost unprecedented severity occurred (1873), and the Centennial Exhibition took place at Philadelphia. After the close of his term as President, General Grant made a tour of the world, being everywhere received with the greatest honor, after which he resided in New York until attacked by the disease which ended his life on Mount McGregor, in 1885.

Rutherford Burchard Hayes, 1822–1893. One Term, 1877–1881.

It has frequently happened that when several rival leaders of the same political party have been candidates for President, the Presidential Convention has found it wisest to nominate some less prominent man, thus avoiding the loss which might result from the choice of either of the more conspicuous aspirants for the office, and the consequent offence to the supporters of the others. This was the case when a successor to General Grant was to be chosen. While Rutherford B. Hayes had been a Brigadier-General in the Union army, and had twice been elected Governor of Ohio, he was by no means conspicuous as a national leader. There was great dissatisfaction with the course of the men who had obtained control of the political machinery of the Republican party, and the election depended on the counting of the electoral votes of Louisiana and Florida. To settle the legality of these votes, the

famous Electoral Commission was appointed by Congress, and decided in favor of General Hayes as against his competitor, Samuel J. Tilden. The quiet and peaceful solution of this dispute is one of the greatest triumphs of our system of Government. The Republican party had been in office for four Presidential terms, had successfully conducted the affairs of the nation during the trying and dangerous periods of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Many of the measures which had been during this time adopted as a part of our system had been consistently and strenuously opposed by the Democrats. Under these circumstances the Republicans viewed the possible accession to power of the Democratic party with a degree of alarm, which has since proved to be unjustifiable. Each party claimed, and probably believed, that its candidate had been elected, and each was disposed to insist on its rights under the Constitution. Such a dispute in a country where men's passions are less under the control of their reason, would inevitably have led to civil war. The two Houses of Congress were of different politics, and their agreement upon what seemed an equitable method of adjusting the dispute, together with the acquiescence of all parties in the decision of the tribunal thus created, make it a remarkable instance of the adaptability of our institutions, and go far to justify the most complete faith in their permanence. General Hayes was a successful lawyer, a lifelong citizen of Ohio, and while his administration gave great offence to many political leaders, it was gener-

ally satisfactory to the people. At the close of his term he retired to his native State.

The chief events of his Presidency were: his withdrawal of troops from the South, thus leaving the people of that section to settle their own questions in their own way; the great railroad and coal strikes, during which United States troops had to be employed to suppress violence at Pittsburg, and the resumption of specie payments, in 1879.

James Abram Garfield, 1831–1881. One Partial Term, 1881.

The twentieth President was likewise a citizen of Ohio. The early life of James A. Garfield was somewhat similar to that of Abraham Lincoln. He had, however, the advantage of early contact with cultivated people, and while he at one time drove mules upon the tow-path of a canal, and paid for his tuition by acting as janitor of the school-house, he had opportunities for education of which he availed himself to the utmost, paying his own way through school, and finally graduating at Williams College. At the opening of the war he entered the Union army, and was promoted for his services at the battle of Chickamauga to the rank of Major-General. He left the army to enter Congress, where he took a leading part, and was chosen Senator for Ohio, but before taking his seat was elected President. He surrounded himself with able advisers, and high hopes were entertained of a notably successful administration, when he was shot by a disappointed office-seeker, dying after two months of suffering, during which the

GARFIELD ON THE TOW-PATH.

public sympathy was excited to an extraordinary degree and was manifested in every possible way.

The single event for which the few months of his Presidency are remarkable is the quarrel between the President and Senator Conkling, of New York, as to some of the Federal appointments in that State. The Senator from New York resigned, and the difficulty was not adjusted at the time of the President's death.

Chester Alan Arthur, 1830–1886. One Partial Term, 1881–1885.

The Vice-President elected with Garfield was Chester A. Arthur, of New York. He was not widely known outside his own State before his nomination, and he was made the candidate in order to retain the favor of a large portion of the Republican party in New York which had advocated the claims of another candidate, and it was feared would not otherwise assist in the election of Garfield.

Mr. Arthur had great experience as a political manager, but little knowledge of the manner in which the Government is conducted; but he proved a careful, conscientious President, and the country was well satisfied with his administration. As he had been an adherent of the political faction with which President Garfield, at the time of his assassination, was at war, he was placed in an exceedingly delicate position, and grave fears were entertained by many people that backward steps would be taken; but the new President extricated himself from his difficulties with a dignity and a tact which astonished even those

THE HOME OF GARFIELD'S CHILDHOOD.

who knew him best, and which gained for him the respect of the entire country.

During the term of President Arthur, Congress passed the Civil Service Act, providing for the appointment of subordinate employees of the Government on the basis of merit rather than that of political influence; the completion of the great East River Bridge united the cities of New York and Brooklyn, and the immense growth and prosperity of the New South justified the brightest anticipations for the future of that section. Mr. Arthur died in New York a few months after the close of his term.

Stephen Grover Cleveland, 1837. First Term, 1885–1889; Second Term, 1893–1897.

The Republican party had now held control of the Government for twenty-five years, and Grover Cleveland was the first Democratic President since Buchanan. Although a native of New Jersey, he had been since boyhood a citizen of New York. He began the study of law in Buffalo at the age of eighteen, and early took an active part in politics. Having filled several local offices, he was, in 1882, elected Governor of the State by a phenomenal majority, and in 1884 was the successful candidate for President.

The transfer of the Government from the hands of one political party to its opponent resulted in no disturbance to the business or social relations of the people, and although a large number of office-holders were replaced by men of the opposite political faith, the business of the Government went on as before.

BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN.
Senator from South Carolina.

ROGER Q. MILLS.
Senator from Texas.

During Cleveland's administration laws were enacted providing for the succession to the Presidency of the various members of the Cabinet in case of the death or disability of the President and Vice-President; laying down rules for the counting of the electoral votes, thus supplying the strange deficiency of the Constitution in this respect; regulating inter-State commerce, and forbidding Chinese laborers to emigrate to this country. Events of great importance were the extended labor strikes, which occurred in 1886, and the Anarchist riot in Chicago in May of that year. Although his administration had been very satisfactory to the country at large, Mr. Cleveland failed of re-election, the principal question at issue being that of a protective tariff. He left Washington to take up the practice of law in New York city.

Benjamin Harrison, 1833. One Term, 1889–1893.

Mr. Cleveland was succeeded by General Benjamin Harrison, who secured 233 electoral votes to 168 cast for Mr. Cleveland. Mr. Harrison is the grandson of the ninth President, and the great-grandson of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He is a native of Ohio, is well educated, and was for many years one of the leading lawyers of Indiana. He entered the Union army in 1862, and was promoted until, near the close of the war, he reached the rank of Brigadier-General. He was made a United States Senator in 1880, and came to the Presidency well equipped for the discharge of its duties.

During his four years of service many events took place which have had great weight in moulding the future of the country. A Congress of the American Republics met in Washington, in 1889, and devised measures by which it is hoped to bring about a closer commercial union between the Americas; six new States were added to the Union; the tariff laws were revised and clauses added granting to such nations as offer us reciprocal advantages free admission for certain of their exports; the country is being rapidly furnished with a new and efficient navy; the long-standing difficulty with England concerning seal fishing in Behring Sea was adjusted by a treaty providing for arbitration, and annoying difficulties with Germany, Italy and Chili were happily settled.

Republican Land-Slide.

The presidential campaign of 1892 was remarkable in several respects. The leading candidates, ex-President Cleveland and President Harrison, were both men of the highest character and integrity, each of whom had served the country with notable ability as President for a term of four years. The people were, therefore, so well acquainted with the candidates that personalities entered little into the campaign, and the canvass was conducted with less popular enthusiasm and excitement than ever before. The question most largely discussed was that of the McKinley tariff, but other important questions, such as the free coinage of silver and the revival of State banks, entered largely into the discussion, and had

much to do with influencing the result, especially in the Western States, where party lines were very largely broken up. The result of the election was almost a political revolution, ex-President Cleveland being elected by an overwhelming majority. The Populists also polled a very large vote.

The result of the election was generally accepted as meaning a condemnation of the McKinley tariff. For the first time in thirty years the Democratic party had full possession of all branches of the Government.

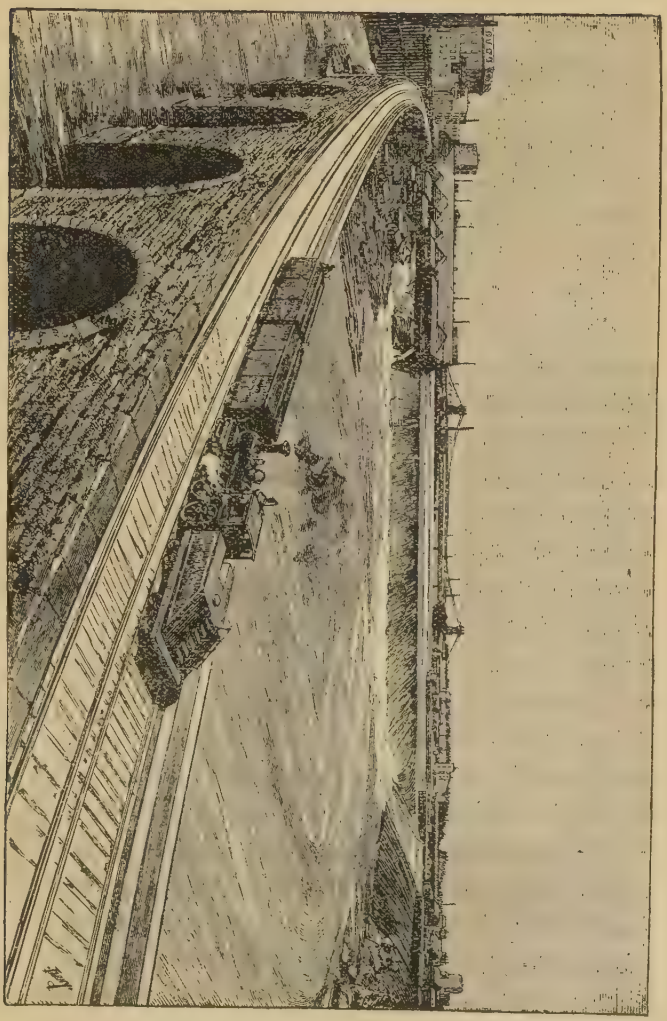
Panic of 1893.

In the spring and summer of 1893 the country experienced an unexpected and remarkable stringency in the money market, which was largely attributed to the operations of what is known as the Sherman Law, by which the Government was compelled to purchase four and one-half million ounces of silver every month. President Cleveland called an extra session of Congress to meet early in August, for the purpose of repealing the purchasing clause of the "Sherman Law." This appeared to bring some relief in the way of restoring confidence, but it did not come until the country had suffered greatly from the general depression of trade and the withdrawal of credits. The banks in New York, Philadelphia and Boston declined to pay large sums on the checks of their customers in currency, but insisted upon payments being accepted in Clearing House certificates. President Cleveland was very generally commended for his wise and patriotic action in dealing with the questions

affecting the public interest during this critical period, though he met with serious opposition within his own party.

The Hawaiian Difficulty.

One of the most unusual and important events of 1893 was the movement for the annexation of the Sandwich Islands. Early in the year, by a successful revolution, without bloodshed, the native Queen, Liliuokalani, was overthrown and a provisional government established, the chief officers of which were Americans by birth or parentage. A proposition for annexation was made by them to the United States, and a treaty looking to that end was negotiated under the administration of President Harrison, and sent to the Senate for ratification. On President Cleveland's accession to office in March, he withdrew the treaty, and sent Hon. James H. Blount as commissioner to Hawaii to make further investigation. After some months Mr. Blount made a report, stating that the Hawaiian revolution had been accomplished by the active aid of the American minister, who had used American war vessels and troops for that purpose. The President thereupon made a demand upon the provisional government that the Queen should be restored, and in a special message to Congress urged that view. The provisional government of Hawaii, however, declined to comply, and Congress took no measures to restore the monarchy. The affair occasioned intense feeling in the United States, public opinion in regard to annexation and the policy of the President being sharply divided.



THE FALLS OF ST. ANTHONY, 1885.

China and Japan.

During the war between China and Japan, in 1894, President Cleveland had a conspicuous opportunity to show to the world the great advantage this country enjoys as a mediator between other belligerent nations, owing to our well-known policy of avoiding foreign entanglements.

Conflict Between Labor and Capital.

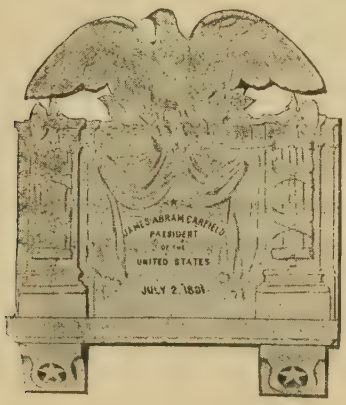
In July, 1894, occurred the most tremendous conflict between capital and labor that has ever taken place in this country. The American Railway Union, a labor organization of railway employees, ordered a general strike on all railroads running Pullman cars. For two weeks traffic was almost at a standstill, and a reign of terror existed in Chicago, and also in parts of California and other States of the West. The railroad tracks entering Chicago were besieged by a violent mob; cars were derailed and burned, switches torn up, miles of loaded freight cars set on fire, and every means employed to stop completely the movement of trains. President Cleveland finally sent troops of the regular army to Chicago, and the riot was soon quelled. In December, 1894, Eugene V. Debs and other leaders of the strike were sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

Another Political Revolution.

The autumn of 1894 brought a political revolution even greater than that of 1892—the Republicans being nearly everywhere victorious. The universal

depression of business, and the failure of Congress to deal with the tariff and financial measures, created a great revulsion of feeling against the Democrats, who were overwhelmingly defeated in nearly every State of the Union. The extent of the revolution is shown by the fact that while the House of Representatives elected in 1892 contained 219 Democrats and 127 Republicans, the House elected in 1894 contains 100 Democrats and 245 Republicans.

The twenty-three men who have filled the presidential chair have varied in ability; they have represented all classes of our American people and widely different schools of political thought, but in the century of their aggregate terms no country of the world has had better men as chief executives.



TABLET IN THE WAITING-ROOM OF THE RAILWAY STATION WHERE GARFIELD WAS SHOT.

The Republican Convention.

A REMARKABLE PRESIDENTIAL CONVENTION.

"BOSSES" SET ASIDE AND NOMINATION MADE BY THE PEOPLE—A CYCLONE OF ENTHUSIASM—HOW THE VICE-PRESIDENT WAS CHOSEN—ACTION OF THE SILVER MEN—UNPRECEDENTED SCENES.

THE National Republican Convention which assembled in St. Louis, on June 16, 1896, was one of the most remarkable and unique in the history of that organization, whose first candidate, Colonel John C. Fremont, was presented for the suffrages of the people forty years before. That pioneer candidate was defeated, but the great Lincoln, the second nominee, was swept into the President's chair while the skies were darkening with the clouds of civil war, and he swayed the destinies of the nation throughout that terrific struggle, until removed by the assassin's bullet, when the country could the least spare him. History has told the story of the quadrennial battles since then for political supremacy, and of none can a more interesting story be given than of that which placed William McKinley of Ohio in nomination.

Many Brilliant and Able Men.

At no time were there a greater number of brilliant

MARK A. HANNA.

Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

and able men prominently named for the honor than during the few months preceding decisive action. "Tom" Reed of Maine has no superior in brains, wit and ability, and there can be no question that had he been nominated and elected as Chief Magistrate, he would have given the country a worthy and distinctively American administration; William B. Allison, who was a delegate to the Chicago convention of 1860, a Congressman and Senator, has made a national reputation for statesmanship, and had already been a prominent candidate for the presidential nomination; Levi P. Morton was governor of the imperial State of New York, and served as Vice-President and in other conspicuous positions, and in all had added to his popularity and earned the respect of political foes as well as friends; there were Quay, Alger, and others of hardly less prominence, with the proverbial dark horse looming mistily in the background.

Morton a Candidate.

Governor Morton announced that he would not be a candidate, unless a real one. That is to say, he did not mean to be put up as a compliment, or with the idea of using him as a means to secure the nomination for some one else. Through the manipulation of that wonderful "boss," Tom Platt, he secured the pledge of the regular delegates from New York, and any candidate who can go into a convention with the thirty-four electoral votes of the Empire State behind him, has a backing of which he may well be proud,

and which is certain to command the deference of all the other delegates.

New England feels a special pride in her brilliant son, and most of the States declared for Reed, though there was incipient revolt here and there. But worst of all, the leader of the Reed forces, Congressman Manley of Maine, "flunked" at the very time when pluck and undaunted courage were needed. Scared by the array in favor of McKinley, he publicly gave up the fight and brought dismay and disorganization into the camp of his champion. The resentment against Manley was so intense that he was charged in many quarters with treachery.

McKinley Buttons Everywhere.

But while all this preliminary skirmishing was going on, a potent fact became apparent. From somewhere a boom had started for Governor McKinley of Ohio, and it had steadily grown and spread until it swept the country like a prairie fire. For weeks before the convention "Bill McKinley" had been in everybody's mouth; the newspapers were full of him; all the readers had become familiar with his handsome face and with the leading facts of his life; buttons bearing his features and some apt expression were in the cars, on the streets and in the houses; and thousands who generally showed little interest in politics declared themselves in favor of the man from Ohio.

What brought about this remarkable state of affairs? Such things do not grow into life spontane-

ously. A presidential "boom" must be planted and skilfully nursed, or it withers before bearing fruitage. While the excellent qualities of Governor McKinley cannot be denied, the intelligent reader hardly needs to be told that he was extremely fortunate in being in the hands of wise, sagacious and far-seeing friends, who were adepts in the science of politics and made no mistakes. The soil was good and they sowed the seed, watered and tended it until it sprang into vigorous life.

The Masses Against the "Bosses."

The movement for McKinley was skilfully presented as that of the masses against the "bosses," and in some respects it was; and when the people move, they are like the car of Juggernaut: they crush all that gets in their way. The politicians opposed to the "Ohio idea" fought desperately to stem the swelling tide; Platt, the most adroit of them all, threatened, combined, cajoled and bluffed; the opponents of McKinley met again and again after their arrival in St. Louis, and were in session the night through, with a view of fixing upon some combination against McKinley, but Mark Hanna, his manager, smiled at them all. He is a past-master in political strategy and he feared them not. He heard the roar of the rising waters behind him, and knew it would land his man in the White House.

THE ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY,

Held in St. Louis, June 16, 17 *and* 18.

The Currency Question.

It was evident from the first that there was but one possible rock upon which the great convention could split—that was the question whether to declare in favor of gold as the single standard or to favor unlimited silver coinage. While the tariff was and always will be a prominent factor in politics, it was relegated for the time to the background. The Republican party is that of Protection, and, therefore, there could be little if any ground for dissension in that respect.

But unquestionably there was a wide variance in many quarters, as we have shown, between the "gold" and "silver" men. While the East and the elder sections of our country were uncompromising in their demand for gold as the single standard, some of the Republicans beyond the Mississippi insisted upon a plank acknowledging silver, and open threats were made that in case of refusal, they would bolt the convention and affiliate with the party representing their views. The question was as to how far this disaffection extended. The pages immediately following will answer that question.

Meanwhile, Governor McKinley, at his home in Canton, Ohio, gave no sign. The lessons of former

candidates who had undone themselves by tongue or pen were not lost upon him, and he remained resolutely mute. He was referred to as the "wabbling candidate," and some of his earlier expressions were quoted against him; but nothing sufficed to draw him out. He quietly bided his time, and who shall say he was not wise?

First Day of the Convention.

It was about half an hour past noon, on Tuesday, June 16, 1896, that the eleventh national convention of the Republican party was called to order by the Hon. Thomas Henry Carter, chairman of the Republican National Committee. The tremendous structure, known as the Auditorium or Convention Hall, is capable of accommodating an immense assemblage, and it is estimated that more than 40,000 visitors had flocked to St. Louis. Fortunately, the torrid weather for which the Mound City is noted and dreaded held off, though it gave a taste of its terrible power to smite before final adjournment came.

For the first time in the history of national conventions, the opening prayer was made by an Israelite, in the person of Rabbi Samuel Sale, pastor of the Shaare Emeth congregation. His invocation was devout, and, at its close, the secretary read the call issued by the National Committee for the convention. He was not heard fifty feet away, not so much because of his weakness of voice, as on account of the wretched acoustic qualities of the building. Chairman Carter then presented the name of Hon. Charles

W. Fairbanks of Indiana as temporary chairman. No voice was raised in opposition, and the tall, slender man, with close-cropped beard and mustache, came forward and delivered an address that was frequently interrupted by applause. It was an arraignment of the Democratic administration for its many shortcomings, and an argument that the prosperity of the country at large could be secured only by the adoption of the principles of the Republican party. Sound currency, protection, sympathy for Cuba, and the certainty that the candidates about to be named would be the next President and Vice-President of the United States, were the principal features of Chairman Fairbanks' speech, which was received with many expressions of approval. At its conclusion, the necessary officials of the convention were appointed, the members of the various committees announced, and, after a session of less than two hours, an adjournment was had to ten o'clock Wednesday.

Wednesday's Proceedings—Adoption of the Gold Plank.

Between the adjournment and the coming together on the morrow, much effective work was done. While the sentiment of the delegates was overwhelmingly in favor of "sound currency," or the single gold standard, there was a diversity of opinion in many quarters as to whether the word "gold" should be used in the platform. A considerable number thought the latter was sufficiently explicit without the word, but the insistence of others compelled a yielding of the point: it was decided that the all-potent

word should appear. Since adjournment, Mr. Hanna has asserted that the gold plank was agreed upon by him or his associates before the arrival of the delegates from the East who were popularly credited with the formulation of the clause in question.

The convention reassembled at a quarter to eleven on Wednesday, and was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. W. G. Williams, after which the real work began. The report of the Committee on Permanent Organization presented the name of Senator J. N. Thurston of Nebraska as chairman, made the secretaries, sergeant-at-arms and other temporary officers permanent officers of the convention, and gave a list of vice-presidents, consisting of one from each State. It was accepted and Senator Thurston was loudly applauded as he took his seat.

The address of Mr. Thurston pleased all by its terseness and brevity. Great as is his ability, the sultry atmosphere and the general impatience to get to work led the majority to look with some dread upon a long and labored speech. Great, therefore, was the gratification of the delegates when the honorable gentleman said:

Speech of Chairman Thurston.

Gentlemen of the Convention: The happy memory of your kindness and confidence will abide in my grateful heart forever. My sole ambition is to meet your expectations, and I pledge myself to exercise the important powers of this high office with absolute justice and impartiality. I bespeak your cordial co-operation and support, to the end that our pro-

ceedings may be orderly and dignified, as befits the deliberations of the supreme council of the Republican party.

Eight years ago I had the distinguished honor to preside over the convention which nominated the last Republican President of the United States. To-day I have the further distinguished honor to preside over the convention which is to nominate the next President of the United States. This generation has had its object-lesson, and the doom of the Democratic party is already pronounced. The American people will return the Republican party to power because they know that its administration will mean:

The supremacy of the Constitution of the United States.

The maintenance of law and order.

The protection of every American citizen in his right to live, to labor and to vote.

A vigorous foreign policy.

The enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine.

The restoration of our merchant marine.

Safety under the Stars and Stripes on every sea, in every port.

A revenue adequate for all Governmental expenditures and the gradual extinguishment of the national debt.

A currency "as sound as the Government and as untarnished as its honor," whose dollars, whether of gold, silver or paper, shall have equal purchasing and debt-paying power with the best dollars of the civilized world.

A protective tariff which protects, coupled with a reciprocity which reciprocates, securing American markets for American products and opening American factories to the free coinage of American muscle.

A pension policy just and generous to our living

JOSEPH B. FORAKER.

Ex-Governor of Ohio.

heroes and to the widows and orphans of their dead comrades.

The governmental supervision and control of transportation lines and rates.

The protection of the people from all unlawful combinations and unjust exactions of aggregated capital and corporate power.

An American welcome to every God-fearing, liberty-loving, Constitution-respecting, law-abiding, labor-seeking, decent man.

The exclusion of all whose birth, whose blood, whose conditions, whose teachings, whose practices, would menace the permanency of free institutions, endanger the safety of American society, or lessen the opportunities of American labor.

The abolition of sectionalism—every star in the flag shining for the honor and welfare and happiness of every commonwealth and of all the people.

A deathless loyalty to all that is truly American and a patriotism eternal as the stars.

Since the committee on credentials was not ready to report, an adjournment was had until two o'clock, but it was nearly an hour later when the gavel of Mr. Thurston once more called the convention to order. Bishop Arnett of Wilberforce College, Ohio, offered the opening prayer, after which Mr. Madden of Chicago presented to the chairman a gavel made from a portion of the house in which Abraham Lincoln had once lived. This was followed by the presentation of a second gavel carved from the old homestead of Henry Clay, the "Father of Protection."

The committee on credentials presented a majority and minority report, the former of which favored the

seating of the Higgins delegates and those at large from Delaware as against the Addicks delegates, and the seating of the list of Texas delegates which was headed by John Grant. After a warm discussion, the majority report was adopted by the vote of 545½ to 359½. This vote was considered a test one between McKinley and his opponents and removed all doubts of the invincibility of the Ohio man.

The full committee on resolutions met at the Lindell Hotel in the evening and went into secret session. The proposed platform was read by paragraphs, the agreement being that each paragraph should be voted on separately. There was unanimous accord upon the tariff plank and the sugar plank was accepted. A strong declaration was formulated for a protective duty on wools and woolens and a demand made for the protection of American shipbuilding and the development of American commerce.

Split Between the Gold and Silver Men.

When the financial plank was reached, Senator Teller of Colorado presented a minority report which declared in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Mr. Teller with deep emotion declared that the time had come when, if the single gold standard was adopted, he should be compelled to leave the party with which he had been associated for thirty-five years. There was much sympathy felt for this able leader, whose association with the Republican party had earned for him the respect of political foes as well as friends. Mr.

Cannon of Utah was hardly less agitated when he announced a decision similar to that of Teller, and Mr. Dubois of Idaho declared that, much as he regretted the step, he would follow Messrs. Teller and Cannon. Then, after earnest argument, Mr. Hartman of Montana said that he never would support a candidate upon the proposed platform.

The substitute of Senator Teller received 10 votes, which included the delegates from Colorado, California, Utah, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Arizona, Nevada, North Carolina and New Mexico. The substitute was defeated by 41 votes. After further discussion, the gold plank, as it appears in the platform, was adopted by a vote of yeas 40, nays 11, the member from Oklahoma having joined the silver men.

Thursday's Proceedings—Bolt of the Silver Men. Wm. McKinley of Ohio Nominated on the First Ballot Amid a Whirlwind of Enthusiasm. Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey Nominated for Vice-President.

The convention came together on Thursday morning, only five minutes late, with all of the delegates in their seats, and the galleries packed to suffocation, many ladies being among the spectators. Rev. John R. Scott, of Florida, a negro, opened with a brief and appropriated prayer.

The first order of business was the reception of the report of the Committee on Resolutions. Senator-elect Foraker of Ohio was cheered as he advanced to the platform and said: "As chairman of the Committee on Resolutions I have the honor to report as follows."

Reading of the Platform.

He then read the platform, as printed elsewhere, in a clear ringing voice and with distinct enunciation. He emphasized the endorsement of President Harrison and was applauded, and when, in a loud voice and with impressive manner, he declared, "The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money," the applause was greater than ever, it rising to a still more enthusiastic pitch when the pledge to promote international agreement for free coinage of silver was read. Mr. Foraker was compelled to stop reading and the applause continued so long that the chairman rapped repeatedly for order.

The demand for American control of the Hawaiian Islands was warmly approved, but the convention remained mum over the proposed building of the Nicaragua Canal by the United States and the purchase of the Danish Islands for a naval station. If any enthusiasm was felt in that direction it did not manifest itself. But the sympathy of the people found ardent expression when the Cuban paragraph was read, dropping again to zero over the civil service plank. The negro delegates applauded noisily the demand for a free ballot and the condemnation of lynching.

It took twenty-five minutes for the reading of the platform, during which the convention gave close attention, breaking out again into cheers at the close. When the tumult had subsided, Mr. Foraker moved the adoption of the report as the National platform for 1896.

The Minority Report.

As Mr. Foraker reached the closing paragraph of the report, Senator Teller left his place with the Colorado delegation and took his seat on the platform. He was recognized by the chairman and sent to the secretary's desk and had read the following minority report: "We, the undersigned members of the Committee on Resolutions, being unable to agree with that part of the majority report which treats of the subjects of coinage and finance, respectfully submit the following paragraph as a substitute therefor:

"The Republican party favors the use of both gold and silver as equal standard money, and pledges its power to secure the free, unrestricted and independent coinage of gold and silver at our mints at the ratio of 16 parts of silver to 1 of gold."

Mr. Teller then advanced to the front of the platform to utter his "farewell." The universal respect felt for him was shown by the cordial greeting of the twelve thousand people, who saw that the distinguished gentleman was almost overcome with emotion. It may be doubted whether there was one in that immense assemblage who did not feel a sincere sympathy for the man who was taking the most painful step of his public career.

Mr. Teller asserted that we might as well have two flags in the nation, if the present money system is to be maintained, for the reason that two flags are not more important than this all-absorbing question of gold and silver money. He declared that he was not actuated by the fact that Colorado is a silver-

producing State, but he had come to the earnest conclusion, after twenty years of study, that bimetallism is the only safe money doctrine for the United States and all other countries.

Mr. Teller insisted that a protective tariff cannot be maintained on a gold standard. Then, with uplifted hands, he declared: "When God Almighty made these two metals, He intended them for use as money."

Senator Teller said that the years of study which he had devoted to this question had brought convictions to him which were binding upon his conscience, and it was because he was an honest man that he could not support the gold money plank. The declaration was received with cheers and hisses, and moisture gathered in the eyes of the speaker as he looked out over the sea of faces and felt that he had at last reached the parting of the ways. Then the tears coursed down his cheeks and his handkerchief went to his eyes. The sight caused a respectful hush to fall over the convention, while more than one friend wept in silent sympathy.

Bolt of the Silver Men.

Recovering himself, Senator Teller declared that the best thoughts of the world favored bimetallism, and it was advocated by the greatest teachers of political economy in Europe.

Do you suppose [he asked] that we can take this step and leave the party without distress? Take any methods you please to nominate your man, but

put him upon the right platform, and I will support him. I was for free men, free speech, and a free Government. I was with the Republican party when it was born. I have become accustomed to abuse, but I have voted for every Republican candidate since the foundation of the party, and I have been in close communication with its distinguished men for forty years."

At this point, Senator Teller broke down again. The tears streamed over his face and he was greatly distressed. In a broken voice he added:

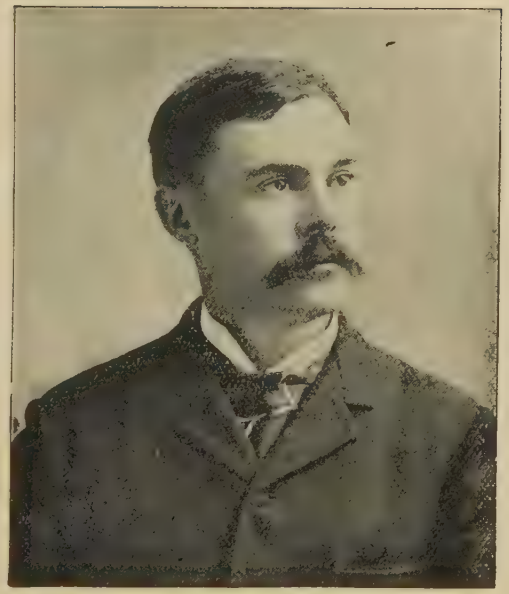
But if I am to leave the Republican party, I do not leave it in anger. I believe that my doctrine is for the good of the people. I believe that the Republican party will see the error of its way, and, although I may never be permitted again to address a Republican National Convention, I shall live in the hope that before I die this great party will come to a thorough understanding of the silver question and treat it solemnly and with the keenest interest in support of all the people.

The vote to lay Senator Teller's motion on the table disclosed an interesting state of facts. It was supported by seven friends in Alabama, fifteen in California, his eight delegates of Colorado, two from Florida, three from Georgia, the six from Idaho, and one from Illinois. In addition, his plank received the following support: Kansas, four votes; Michigan, one; Missouri, one; Montana, six; Nevada, six; South Carolina, 14½; South Dakota, two; Tennessee, one; Utah, six; Virginia, five; Wyoming, six; and in the

Territories: Arizona, six; New Mexico, three, and Oklahoma, one, making 105½ votes in all. The vote for the majority report was 818½.

Senator Teller, who was still on the platform, asked permission from the chairman to introduce Senator Cannon of Utah, who desired to read a statement from the silver men. The manner of Senator Cannon was defiant and quickly stirred up impatience. He declared he would bow to the majority in the matter of votes, but would never bow when a question of principle was at stake. He said they would withdraw from the convention, and he predicted trouble in the future for the Republican party. This was greeted with hisses and urgent requests for him to sit down. In the midst of the storm, the chairman turned to Senator Cannon and shouted: "The Republican party do not fear any declaration."

This threw the convention into a tumult of enthusiasm. Men sprang to their feet, swung flags and shouted at the top of their voices. Senator Cannon calmly awaited the subsidence of the storm, when he continued with his generalities, and read the list of free silver men who would leave the convention. The names of the signers were greeted with hisses, and someone in the rear called out, "Good-by, my lover, good-by," as Senator Teller and his associates filed out of the hall, marching down the main aisle. The whole convention was again on its feet yelling, waving flags, hats and fans, while the band played patriotic airs and the assemblage sang the chorus, "Three Cheers for the Red, White and Blue."



FRED. T. DUBOIS.
Senator from Idaho.

ROBERT T. LINCOLN.
Ex-Minister to England.

The silver delegates who withdrew were Congressman Hartman of Montana; Senator Cannon, Congressman Allen and Delegate Thomas Kearns, of Utah; Senator Pettigrew, of South Dakota; Delegates Cleveland and Strother, of Nevada; the entire Idaho delegation of six, headed by Senator Dubois; the whole Colorado delegation of eight, including Senator Teller, the total number of bolters being twenty-one, including four senators and two representatives.

A Montana Delegate Who Did Not Bolt.

Waiting until the excitement had subsided, the chairman announced in deliberative fashion: "Gentlemen of the Convention, there seem to be enough delegates left to do business. (Great cheering.) The chair now asks that a gentleman from Montana who did not go out"——Cheers drowned the rest of the sentence, and cries were made for Lee Mantle, who was asked to come to the platform, but declined. Climbing upon his chair in the rear of the hall, he said:

I desire to say that a majority of the delegation from the State of Montana has not felt that, under all the circumstances surrounding this occasion, they were justified in actually going out of the convention. (Applause.) But, Mr. Chairman, I am bound to say, in deference to the opinions and wishes of the majority of the Republicans of the State of Montana, that we cannot give our approval nor our endorsement to the financial plank this day adopted. (Applause.) I

have never cast my vote for any ticket but a Republican one, and I do not propose to do it now (applause); but, Mr. Chairman, we have instructions from the Republicans of our State, and we would be false to to ourselves and false to them if we did not state their position and their objections at this time. In the name and on behalf of the Republicans of Montana I protest earnestly, solemnly and emphatically against the financial plank of the platform adopted this day. (Applause.)

We cannot accept it; we cannot indorse it; we cannot support it at this time. But there is a difference of opinion in this delegation. There are those who are satisfied to utter their protest and still participate in the proceedings of the Convention. (Applause.) There are others who feel that in declining to support this great controlling issue they are in honor bound not to participate in the placing of candidates on a platform which they cannot at this time indorse. But whatever the action of the delegation may be, I want to say that we reserve the right to the Republicans of the State of Montana to accept or to reject at such time and in such manner as they may determine the platform and the candidates put before them by this Convention.

A Voice from Utah.

Senator Brown from his seat on the platform rose to a question of privilege and said:

Mr. Chairman, the delegation from Utah does not bolt. (Cheers.) We do not believe that the Republican party is the oppressor of the people, but, the guardian of liberty and the protector of honest government. (Applause.) Three of our delegation have gone, and I am here to express our sorrow at their

departure. We have asked them to remain, and we shall never cease to regret their departure. (Cries of "Good!" and cheers.) We have three delegates left and three alternates—Messrs. Rogers, Green and Smith, all true to the old party, and who are as loyal to its principles and as fixed as the everlasting mountains where we live. (Cheers.)

In saying this, we still remain true to the principles of free gold and free silver at the old rates. We do not believe this question can be settled by votes in a convention. The test of time can only settle it, and we believe when it shall be settled in this way, it will be for the reinstatement of silver as the constitutional money. But I promised not to speak on this subject. There is one greater issue before the American people, one to which the Republican party was pledged years and years ago. You have promised to the people of the United States an American tariff (cheers), an American issue. (Renewed cheers.) You must send protection to every shipowner and every shipmaker. You must send protection to the farmer, to the manufacturer, and I say to you that Utah, or at least a part of it, will endeavor to help you in that cause. (Cheers.)

At the request of Senator Brown the three alternates he had named were permitted to sit in the convention in place of the delegates that had left. The States were then called for the choice of members of the National Committee, which being presented, the chairman directed the call of the States for nominations for the Presidency.

Nomination of Senator W. B. Allison of Iowa.

The first response was from Iowa. R. M. Baldwin

of Council Bluffs advanced to the platform and nominated Senator W. B. Allison. After a glowing tribute to Mr. Allison's worth and public services, he concluded as follows:

I ask you to nominate him. If you do, the people from the sand-shrouded Mexican line to the live wire that separates us from an unborn daughter on the North will shout as in one glorious glad anthem: "The old temple of Republicanism still stands. Flock to it for shelter." If you do, every keynote of the campaign will be kept at concert-pitch. If you do, the White House will be used no longer as an experiment station. Nominate him, and, not now, perhaps, but when the strife is over, his name will fall like millennial music upon your ears. Nominate him, and a thrill of joy will go from the West to the East, carrying on its trembling way the song of our reapers, only to be lost in the roar of your furnaces. Nominate him, and when our corn grows golden in autumn-time, our flocks are teaming and our granges filled, every spindle will be turning day and night upon the Merrimac. If you will do this, light will break upon our darkened land, and instantly a long-suffering people will hear the surges of returning prosperity.

May the spell of Republicanism have greater power to move you than the spell of magic words. In this hour of anxious expectancy, in this hour pregnant with history, prophecy and destiny, the grave gives up its mighty dead, and they are here—Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, Blaine—yea, all the illustrious dead of the Republican party, and mingling with its living advocates, martyred Lincoln's spirit pleads with

you to see to it that "These dead shall not have died in vain."

Several points of this speech were applauded.

Nomination of Thomas B. Reed of Maine.

The next State to answer was Massachusetts, which, through Senator Lodge, of that State, presented the name of Thomas B. Reed, which evoked uproarious enthusiasm, many of the delegates rising and waving flags amid wild cheering.

Four years ago we met as we meet now, representatives of the great Republican party. Prosperity was in the land. Capital was confident and labor employed. There was the good day's wage for the good day's work, and the spirit of American enterprise was stirring and bold. The Treasury was full, the public revenues ample for the public need. We were at peace with all the world and had placed a prudent hand on the key of the Pacific. Four short years have come and gone. Look about you now. The Treasury is empty. Our credit is impaired. Our revenues are deficient. We meet the public needs, not with income, but by borrowing at high rates and pledging the future for the wants of the present. Business is paralyzed. Confidence has gone. Enterprise has folded its eagle wings and mopes and blinks in the market-place. Our mills are idle and our railroads crippled. Capital hides itself and labor idly walks the streets. There is neither a good day's wage nor a good day's work. We have met with slights abroad and have curious differences, with other nations. The key to the Pacific has slipped from nerveless hands. Foreign troops

have been landed in this hemisphere. Our own boundaries have been threatened in Alaska.

The Monroe Doctrine has been defended, but is not yet vindicated. The people of a neighbor island, fighting for freedom, look toward us with imploring eyes and look in vain. The American policy which would protect our industries at home and our flag abroad has faded and withered away.

"Look here upon this picture, and on this.
Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed, and batten on this moor?"

Four Years of Democratic Rule.

But four short years have come and gone, and they have brought this change. What has happened? I will tell you in a word. The Democratic party has been in power. That is the answer. Upon us falls the heavy burden of binding up these wounds and bringing relief to all this suffering. The Democrats deceived the people by promising them the millennium, and the miserable results of those lying promises are all about us to-day. We have no promises to make. We pledge ourselves only to that which we believe we can perform. We will do our best. That is all. And as in 1860 we saved the Union and abolished slavery, so now in 1896 we will deal with this Democratic legacy of blunders, bankruptcy and misfortune.

We are gathered here to choose the next President of the United States. That we will win in the election no man doubts. But let us not deceive ourselves with the pleasant fancy that the campaign is to be an easy one. It will be a hard battle; it cannot be otherwise when so much depends on the result. Against the Republican party, representing fixed American policies, strength, progress and order, will

be arrayed not only that organized feature, the Democratic party, but all the wandering forces of political chaos and social disorder. It is not merely the Presidency which is set before us as the prize. The prosperity of the country, the protection of our industries, the soundness of our currency and the National credit are all staked on the great issue to be decided at the polls next November. Upon us rests the duty of rescuing the country from the misery into which it has been plunged by three years of Democratic misrule. To drive the Democrats from power is the first step and the highest duty, but we shall triumph in vain, and in our turn meet heavy punishment at the hands of the people, if we do not put our victory to right uses.

Such a crisis as this cannot be met and dealt with by shouts and enthusiasm. We must face it as our fathers faced slavery and disunion—with a grim determination to win the battle; and that done, to take up our responsibilities in the same spirit with which we won the fight. Now, as then, we can hope to succeed only by the most strenuous endeavor; and now, as then, everything depends upon the administration we place in office. We want a President who will meet this situation as Lincoln met that of 1861; with the chiefs of the Republicans about him, and with party and people at his back. We want a President who on the fifth day of next March will summon Congress in extra session, and, refusing to make appointments or to deal with patronage, will say that all else must wait until Congress sends to him a tariff which shall put money in the Treasury and wages in the pockets of the American workingmen. We want a President who will protect at all hazards the gold reserves of the Treasury; who will see to it that no obligation of the

Government is presented which is not paid, in whatever coin the creditor chooses to demand, and who will never forget that the nation which pays with honor borrows with ease.

We want a man who will guard the safety and dignity of the Nation at home and abroad, and who will always and constantly be firm in dealing with foreign nations, instead of suddenly varying a long course of weakness and indifference with a convulsive spasm of vigor and patriotism. Above all, we want a man who will lead his party and act with it, and who will not, by senseless quarrels between the White House and the Capitol, reduce legislation and execution alike to imbecility and failure. Such is the man we want for our great office in these bitter times, when the forces of disorder are loosed and the wreckers with their false lights gather at the shore to lure the Ship of State upon the rocks.

Reed's Record.

Such a man, fit for such deeds, I am now to present to you. He needs no praise from me, for he has proved his own title to leadership. From what he is and what he has done we know what he can do. For twenty years, in victory and defeat, at the head of great majorities and small minorities alike, he has led his party in Congress with a power which no man could dispute, and with an ability which never failed. I have seen him, with a maddened opposition storming about him, carry through that great reform which has made the House of Representatives the strong and efficient body it is to-day. I have seen him during the last winter guide a great majority so that they have met every demand put upon them, and made no errors which could burden the Republican party in the campaign before us.

THOMAS G. PLATT.
Republican Leader, New York.

WARNER MILLER.
Prominent New York Republican.

Before the people and in the House he has ever been the bold and brilliant champion of the great Republican policies which, adopted, have made us prosperous, and, abandoned, have left ruin at our doors. He is a thorough American, by birth, by descent, by breeding; one who loves his country, and has served it in youth and manhood, in war, and in peace. His great ability, his originality of thought, his power in debate, his strong will, are known of all men, and are part of the history of the last twenty years. His public career is as spotless as his private character is pure and unblemished. He is a trained statesman, fit for the heaviest tasks the country can impose upon him. He commands the confidence of his party and his country. He is a leader of men. We know it because we have seen him lead. To those who have followed him he never said, "Go," but always "Come." He is entirely fearless. We know it, for we have seen his courage tested on a hundred fields. He has been called to great places and to great trials, and he has never failed or flinched. He is fit to stand at the head of the Republican column. He is worthy to be an American President. I have the honor, the very great honor, to present to you as a candidate for your nomination the Speaker of the National House of Representatives, Thomas B. Reed.

Nomination of Gov. Levi P. Morton of New York.

Chauncey M. Depew received a warm welcome as he made his way to the platform to place the name of Governor Levi P. Morton in nomination. He did so in his usual felicitous style, tracing the creditable career of Mr. Morton, as business man and the occupant of high office, and closing with the words:

Our present deplorable industrial and financial conditions are largely due to the fact that while we have a President and a Cabinet of acknowledged ability, none of them have had business training or experience. They are persuasive reasoners upon industrial questions, but have never practically solved industrial problems. They are the book-farmers who raise wheat at the cost of orchids and sell it at the price of wheat. With Levi P. Morton there would be no deficiency to be met by the issue of bonds, there would be no blight on our credit which would call for the services of a syndicate, there would be no trifling with the delicate intricacies of finance and commerce which would paralyze the operations of trade and manufacture.

Whoever may be nominated by this Convention will receive the cordial support, the enthusiastic advocacy of the Republicans of New York, but in the shifting conditions of our commonwealth, Governor Morton can secure more than the party strength, and without question, in the coming canvass, no matter what issues may arise between now and November, place the Empire State solidly in the Republican column.

Nomination of William McKinley of Ohio.

Now came the call for Ohio. Amid intense interest and expectation, Joseph B. Foraker of that State came to the platform and said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: It would be exceedingly difficult, if not entirely impossible, to exaggerate the disagreeable situation of the last four years. The grand aggregate of the multitudinous bad results of a Democratic National Administration may be summed up as one stupen-

dous disaster. It has been a disaster, however, not without, at least, this one redeeming feature—that it has been fair; nobody has escaped. (Loud laughter.)

It has fallen equally and alike on all sections of the country and on all classes of our people; the just and the unjust, the Republican and the Democrat, the rich and the poor, the high and the low, have suffered in common. Poverty and distress have overtaken business: shrunken values have dissipated fortunes; deficiencies of revenue have impoverished the Government, while bond issues and bond syndicates have discredited and scandalized the country.

Over against that fearful penalty is, however, to be set down one great, blessed compensatory result—it has destroyed the Democratic party. (Cheers and laughter.) The proud columns which swept the country in triumph in 1892 are broken and hopeless in 1896. Their boasted principles when put to the test have proved to be delusive fallacies, and their great leaders have degenerated into warring chieftains of petty and irreconcilable factions. Their approaching National Convention is but an approaching National nightmare. No man pretends to be able to predict any good result to come from it. And no man is seeking the nomination of that convention except only the limited few who have advertised their unfitness for any kind of a public trust by proclaiming their willingness to stand on any sort of a platform that may be adopted. (Laughter.)

The truth is, the party which would stand up under the odium of human slavery, opposed to the war for the preservation of the Union, to emancipation, to enfranchisement, to reconstruction and to specie resumption, is at last to be overmatched and undone by itself. It is writhing in the throes and agonies of final dissolution. No human agency can

prevent its absolute overthrow at the next election, except only this Convention. If we make no mistake here, the Democratic party will go out of power on the 4th day of March, 1897 (applause), to remain out of power until God, in His infinite wisdom and mercy and goodness, shall see fit once more to chastise His people. (Loud laughter and applause.)

So far we have not made any mistake. We have adopted a platform which, notwithstanding the scene witnessed in this hall this morning, meets the demands and expectations of the American people.

It remains for us now, as the last crowning act of our work, to meet again that same expectation in the nomination of our candidates. What is that expectation? What is it that the people want? They want as their candidate something more than "a good business man" (an allusion to Mr. Depew's characterization of Governor Morton). They want something more than a popular leader. They want something more than a wise and patriotic statesman. They want a man who embodies in himself not only all these essential qualifications, but those, in addition, which, in the highest possible degree, typify in name, in character, in record, in ambition, in purpose, the exact opposite of all that is signified and represented by that free-trade, deficit-making, bond-issuing, labor-assassinating, Democratic Administration. (Cheers). I stand here to present to this Convention such a man. His name is William McKinley.

The Convention Goes Wild.

At this point pandemonium was let loose, and the Convention gave up to unrestrained yelling, cheering, horn-blowing, whistling, cat-calling and all the other devices common to such occasions. A number of red,

white and blue plumes, which (carefully wrapped up) had been brought into the Convention earlier in the proceedings, were uncovered and waved, while almost every delegate seemed to be wildly gesticulating with either a fan or a flag in the air. The band tried in vain to compete with the ear-splitting clamor, but at last the strains of "Marching Through Georgia" caught the ears of the crowd, and they joined in the chorus and gradually quieted down.

Then a portrait of McKinley was hoisted on a line with the United States flag on the gallery facing the platform, and the cheering began over again, to which the band responded by playing "Rally Round the Flag," the Convention joining in the chorus.

After at least twelve minutes of this kind of proceeding the Chair began to rap for a restoration of order, but without avail.

Senator-elect Foraker stood during all this wild scene smiling his approval. Mr. Hepburn, of Iowa, had in the mean time been called to the chair by Senator Thurston, but just when he had nearly restored order, Mrs. H. W. R. Strong, of California, who had presented the plumes in honor of Ohio's choice, made her appearance on the floor, waving one of them, and another uncontrollable outbreak of wholesale temporary insanity occurred. During the interval of confusion, a three-quarter face, life-size sculptured bust of McKinley was presented to Mr. Foraker by the Republican Club of the University of Chicago. The portrait was in a mahogany frame, decorated with red, white and blue ribbons, and with a bow of maroon-

colored ribbons forming the colors of the university. The portrait was the work of Harris Hirsch, and was presented by Dr. Lisston H. Montgomery, of Chicago, with a letter signed by H. L. Ickes, president of the club. It was accepted by Senator-elect Foraker in dumb show.

After twenty-five minutes of incessant turmoil Mr. Foraker was allowed to resume his speech.

He spoke of the great champions of Republicanism in the past, eulogizing Mr. Blaine particularly, and continued:

But, greatest of all, measured by present requirements, is the leader of the House of Representatives, the author of the McKinley Bill, which gave to labor its richest awards. No other name so completely meets the requirements of the occasion, and no other name so absolutely commands all hearts. The shafts of envy and malice and slander and libel and detraction that have been aimed at him lie broken and harmless at his feet. The quiver is empty, and he is untouched. That is because the people know him, trust him, believe in him, love him, and will not permit any human power to disparage him unjustly in their estimation.

They know that he is an American of Americans. They know that he is just and able and brave, and they want him for President of the United States. (Applause.) They have already shown it—not in this or that State, nor in this or that section, but in all the States and in all the sections from ocean to ocean, and from the Gulf to the Lakes. They expect of you to give them a chance to vote for him. It is our duty to do it. If we discharge that duty we will give joy

to their hearts, enthusiasm to their souls and triumphant victory to our cause. (Applause.) And he, in turn, will give us an administration under which the country will enter on a new era of prosperity at home and of glory and honor abroad, by all these tokens of the present and all these promises of the future. In the name of the forty-six delegates of Ohio, I submit his claim to your consideration. (More applause.)

Senator Thurston's Eloquent Speech.

The high-water mark of enthusiasm was reached, when Senator Thurston rose to second the nomination of McKinley, which he did in the following forceful words:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: This is the year of the people. They are conscious of their power; they are tenacious of their rights; they are supreme in this convention; they are certain of victory now in November.

They have framed the issue of this campaign. What is it? Money? Yes, money! Not that which is coined for the mine owner at the mint or clipped by the coupon cutter from the bond, but that which is created by American muscle on the farms and in the factories. The Western mountains clamor for silver and the Eastern seashore cries for gold, but the millions ask for work—an opportunity to labor and to live.

Stands for All the States.

The prosperity of a nation is in the employment of its people, and, thank God! the electors of the United States know this great economic truth at last. The Republican party does not stand for Nevada or New York alone, but for both; not for one State, but for

all. Its platform is as broad as the land, as national as the flag. Republicans are definitely committed to sound currency, but they believe that in a Government of the people the welfare of men is paramount to the interests of money. Their shibboleth for this campaign is "PROTECTION." From the vantage-ground of their own selection they cannot be stampeded by Wall Street panics or free-coinage cyclones. Reports of international complications and rumors of war pass them lightly by; they know that the real enemy of American prosperity is Free Trade, and the best coast defence is a protective tariff. They do not fear the warlike preparations of Europe, but they do fear its cheap manufactures. Their real danger is not from foreign navies carrying guns, but from foreign fleets bringing goods.

This is the year of the people. They have risen in their might. From ocean to ocean, from lake to gulf, they are united as never before. We know their wishes and are here to register their will. They must not be cheated of their choice. They know the man best qualified and equipped to fight their battles and to win their victories. His name is in every heart, on every tongue. His nomination is certain, his election sure. His candidacy will sweep the country as a prairie is swept by fire.

The Year of the People.

This is the year of the people. In their name, by their authority, I second the nomination of their great champion, William McKinley. Not as a favorite son of any State, but as the favorite son of the United States. Not as a concession to Ohio, but as an added honor to the Nation.

When this country called to arms, he took into his boyish hands a musket and followed the flag, bravely

HENRY CABOT LODGE.
Senator from Massachusetts.

J. DONALD CAMERON.
Senator from Pennsylvania.

baring his breast to the hell of battle, that it might float serenely in the Union sky. For a quarter of a century he has stood in the fierce light of public place and his robes of office are spotless as the driven snow. He has cherished no higher ambition than the honor of his country and the welfare of the plain people. Steadfastly, courageously, victoriously and with tongue of fire he has pleaded their cause. His labor, ability and perseverance have enriched the statutes of the United States with legislation in their behalf. All his contributions to the masterpieces of American oratory are the outpourings of a pure heart and a patriotic purpose. His God-given powers are consecrated to the advancement and renown of his own country and to the uplifting and ennobling of his own countrymen. He has the courage of his convictions and cannot be tempted to woo success or avert defeat by any sacrifice of principle or concession to popular clamor.

Steadfast in the Hour of Gloom.

In the hour of Republican disaster, when other leaders were excusing and apologizing, he stood steadfastly by that grand legislative act which bore his name, confidently submitting his case to the judgment of events, and calmly waiting for that triumphal vindication whose laurel this Convention is impatient to place upon his brow.

Strengthened and seasoned by long Congressional service, broadened by the exercise of important executive powers, master of the great economic questions of the age, eloquent, single-hearted and sincere, he stands to-day the most conspicuous and commanding character of this generation, divinely ordained, as I believe, for a great mission, to lead this people out

from the shadow of adversity into the sunshine of a new and enduring prosperity.

Omnipotence never sleeps. Every great crisis brings a leader. For every supreme hour Providence finds a man. The necessities of '96 are almost as great as those of '61. True, the enemies of the Nation have ceased to threaten with the sword, and the Constitution of the United States no longer tolerates that shackles shall fret the limbs of men, but free trade and free coinage hold no less menace to American progress than did the armed hosts of treason and rebellion. If the voice of the people is indeed the voice of God, then William McKinley is the complement of Abraham Lincoln. Yea, and he will issue a new Emancipation Proclamation to the enslaved sons of toil, and they shall be lifted up into the full enjoyment of those privileges, advantages and opportunities that belong of right to the American people.

The Flag will Never be Hauled Down.

Under his administration we shall command the respect of the nations of the earth; the American flag will never be hauled down; the rights of American citizenship will be enforced; abundant revenues provided; foreign merchandise will remain abroad; our gold be kept at home; American institutions will be cherished and upheld; all governmental obligations scrupulously kept, and on the escutcheon of the Republic will be indelibly engraved the American policy—Protection, Reciprocity and Sound Money.

My countrymen: Let not your hearts be troubled; the darkest hour is just before the day; the morning of the twentieth century will dawn bright and clear. Lift up your hopeful faces and receive the light; the Republican party is coming back to power, and

William McKinley will be President of the United States.

In an inland manufacturing city, on election night, November, '94, after the wires had confirmed the news of a sweeping Republican victory, two workingmen started to climb to the top of a great smokeless chimney.

That chimney had been built by the invitation and upon the promise of Republican protective legislation. In the factory over which it towered was employment for twice a thousand men. Its mighty roar had heralded the prosperity of a whole community. It had stood a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night for a busy, industrious, happy people. Now bleak, blackened, voiceless and dismantled, like a grim spectre of evil, it frowned down upon the hapless city, where poverty, idleness, stagnation and want attested the complete disaster of the free-trade experiment.

Unfurled the Emblem of Hope.

Up and up and up they climbed, watched by the breathless multitude below. Up and up and up, until at last they stood upon its summit; and there in the glare of the electric lights, cheered by the gathered thousands, they unfurled and nailed an American flag. Down in the streets, strong men wept—the happy tears of hope—and mothers, lifting up their babes, invoked the blessing of the flag; and then impassioned lips burst forth in song—the hallelujah of exulting hosts, the mighty pæan of a people's joy. That song the enthusiastic millions yet sing.

"Hurrah! Hurrah! we bring the jubilee;
Hurrah! Hurrah! the flag that makes us free;
So we sing the chorus from the mountains to the sea;
Hurrah for McKinley and Protection."

Over the city that free flag waved, caressed by the passing breeze, kissed by the silent stars. And there the first glad sunshine of the morning fell upon it, luminous and lustrous with the tidings of Republican success.

On behalf of those stalwart workmen, and all the vast army of American toilers; that their employment may be certain; their wages just, their dollars the best in the civilized world; on behalf of that dismantled chimney, and the deserted factory at its base; that the furnaces may once more flame, the mighty wheels revolve, the whistles scream, the anvils ring, the spindles hum; on behalf of the thousand cottages round about, and all the humble homes of this broad land; that comfort and contentment may again abide, the firesides glow, the women sing, the children laugh; yes, and on behalf of that American flag and all it stands for and represents; for the honor of every stripe, for the glory of every star; that its power may fill the earth and its splendor span the sky, I ask the nomination of that loyal American, that Christian gentleman, soldier, statesman, patriot, William McKinley.

The Balloting.

In the midst of cries of "vote," Governor Hastings placed in nomination Matthew Stanley Quay, at the conclusion of which, amid a profound hush, the convention began balloting for a nominee for President of the United States.

Alabama led off with 1 for Morton and 19 for McKinley, Arkansas and California following with a solid vote for McKinley. Connecticut gave 5 for Reed and 7 for McKinley; Delaware, its full vote for

McKinley; Florida, 8 for McKinley; Georgia, 2 for Reed, 2 for Quay, and 22 for McKinley.

At this point one of the colored delegates from Florida challenged the vote of his State, and, on a recount, 2 of the votes went to Morton and 6 to McKinley. The vote of Georgia was also challenged, but the vote as announced was confirmed. Then a colored delegate from Alabama demanded a recount of his State, with the result that Morton received 1 vote, Reed 2, and McKinley 19.

Illinois gave 46 to McKinley, and 2 to Reed; Indiana all of its 30 votes for McKinley, while Iowa cast her 26 for Allison; Kansas, 20 for McKinley; Kentucky, 26 for McKinley. The vote of Louisiana was curious—11 for McKinley, 4 for Reed, half a vote for Allison and half a vote for Quay.

So the vote progressed with the McKinley column steadily growing, Massachusetts casting 1 of her votes for him. New York cast 54 for Morton and 17 for McKinley. It was a curious fact that when Ohio was reached, her vote gave her candidate the requisite number to secure his nomination, recognizing which, the Convention broke into cheers.

McKinley Nominated.

When all of the States had been called, the Chairman stated, before the announcement of the result, that application had been made to him for recognition by delegates of the defeated candidates to make a certain motion. He thought it the fairest way to recognize them in the order in which the nominations

had been made. He then announced that William McKinley had received 661½ votes.

Wild Enthusiasm.

Before the Chairman could get any further, the enthusiasm of the Convention broke all bounds. Every man was on his feet, shouting, hurrahing, cheering, swinging hats and canes in the air, waving flags and banners and the pampas plumes of California, while through the Niagara-like rush and roar were caught the notes of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," as the band played with might and main in its attempt to gain the mastery of the cyclone. The women, if possible, were more frantic than the men. Parasols, fans, opera-glasses, gloves—anything, everything—were compelled to help in the magnificent burst of enthusiasm which swept over and submerged all alike, until it looked as if order could never again be evolved from the swirling pandemonium.

One fancy caught on with wonderful effect. A young man on the platform waved on the point of the national banner a laced cocked hat, such as appears in most of popular representations of the mighty Napoleon. This symbol of enthusiasm was greeted with rapturous applause, to which the booming of artillery on the outside contributed.

Finally, after a long, long time, the Chairman gained a chance to complete the announcement of the vote. It was: Thomas B. Reed, 84½; Senator Quay, 61½; Levi P. Morton, 58; Senator Allison, 35½, and Don Cameron 1.

The Vote by States:

The vote by States was as follows:

	McKinley.	*Morton.*	*Quay.*	*Reed.*	*Allison.*
Maine	...	...	...	12	...
Maryland	15	...	...	1	...
Massachusetts	1	...	...	29	...
Michigan	28	...	...	...	...
Minnesota	18	...	...	...	...
Mississippi	17	...	1	...	...
Missouri	34	...	...	...	...
*Montana	1	...	...	...	...
Nebraska	16	...	...	...	...
Nevada	3	...	...	...	...
New Hampshire	...	...	...	8	...
New Jersey	19	...	...	1	...
New York	17	55	...	...	...
North Carolina	19½	...	...	2½	...
North Dakota	6	...	...	...	...
Ohio	46	...	...	...	...
Oregon	8	...	...	...	...
Pennsylvania	6	...	58	...	...
Rhode Island	...	...	...	8	...
South Carolina	18	...	...	...	...
South Dakota	8	...	...	...	...
Tennessee	24	...	...	...	...
Texas	21	...	...	5	3
Utah	3	...	...	...	3
Vermont	8	...	...	...	...
Virginia	23	...	...	1	...
Washington	8	...	...	...	...
West Virginia	12	...	...	...	...
Wisconsin	24	...	...	...	...
Wyoming	6	...	...	...	...
Arizona	6	...	...	...	...
New Mexico	5	...	...	...	1
Oklahoma	4	...	...	1	1
Indian Territory	6	...	...	...	...
D. of Columbia	...	...	...	1	1
Alaska	4	...	...	...	...
TOTALS	661½	58	61½	84½	35½

*Blank, 4, and one vote for Cameron from Montana.

Necessary for choice, 454. Total number of delegates present, 906.

The Nomination Made Unanimous.

Senator Lodge, rising in his delegation, in a forceful speech moved to make the nomination of Mr. McKinley unanimous. Mr. Hastings of Pennsylvania, who had nominated Quay, seconded the motion, as did Thomas C. Platt on behalf of New York, Mr. Henderson, of Iowa, and J. Madison Vance, of Louisiana. In answer to loud calls Mr. Depew mounted his chair in the back of the room, where the rays of the sun beamed on his countenance, which itself was beaming with good humor, and said:

I am in the happy position now of making a speech for the man who is going to be elected. (Laughter and applause.) It is a great thing for an amateur, when his first nomination has failed, to come in and second the man who has succeeded. New York is here, without bitter feeling and no disappointment. We recognize that the waves have submerged us, but we have bobbed up serenely. (Loud laughter.) It was a cannon from New York that sounded first the news of McKinley's nomination. They said of Governor Morton's father that he was a New England clergyman who brought up a family of ten children on $300 a year, and was notwithstanding gifted in prayer. (Laughter.) It does not make any difference how poor he may be, how out of work, how ragged, how next door to a tramp anybody may be in the United States to-night, he will be "gifted in prayer" at the result of this convention. (Cheers and laughter.) There is a principle dear to the American heart. It is the principle which moves American spindles, starts its industries, and makes the wage-earners sought for instead of seeking employment. That principle is embodied in McKinley.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

The Great Advocate of Woman Suffrage

His personality explains the nomination to-day. And his personality will carry into the Presidential Chair the aspirations of the voters of America, of the families of America, of the homes of America, protection to American industry, and America for Americans. (Cheers.)

The Chair then put the question, "Shall the nomination be made unanimous?" and by a rising vote it was so ordered, and the Chair announced that Mr. William McKinley of Ohio was the candidate of the Republican party for President of the United States.

The Nominations for Vice-President.

This great step having been taken, Senator Lodge moved to proceed to the nomination of a candidate for Vice-President; and, although the convention had been in continuous session for eight and a half hours, the motion was carried, and at twenty minutes past six the roll of the States was called for such nominations.

Mr. Fessenden nominated the Hon. Morgan G. Bulkeley of Connecticut, while Judge Franklin Fort of New Jersey placed the Hon. Garret A. Hobart in nomination. Judge Fort concluded one of the most telling speeches with the following tribute to his nominee:

His capabilities are such as would grace any position of honor in the Nation. Not for himself, but for our State; not for his ambition, but to give to the Nation the highest type of public official, do we come to this convention by the command of our State and in the name of the Republican party of New Jersey —unconquered and unconquerable, undivided and in-

divisible—with one united voice speaking for all that counts for good citizenship in our State, and nominate to you for the office of Vice-President of this Republic, Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey.

Mr. Humphrey seconded the nomination of Mr. Hobart in the name of the State of Illinois. Delegate Randolph of Tennessee nominated Henry Clay Evans of that State, the nomination being seconded by colored Delegate Smith of Kentucky, who declared the Republican party "the grandest organization this side of eternity." Mr. I. C. Walker (colored) of Virginia, put his fellow-delegate in nomination.

Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey Nominated.

By the time the balloting reached South Dakota it was so evident that Hobart was to be the fortunate one that many of the delegates began leaving the hall. The result of the ballot as announced by the Chair was: Hobart, 535½; Evans, 277½; Bulkeley, 39; Lippitt, 8; Walker, 24; Reed, 3; Thurston, 2; Frederick Grant, 2; Depew, 3; Morton, 1; absent, 23.

The following is the detailed vote for Vice-President:

Alabama—Hobart, 10; Bulkeley, 1; Evans, 11.
Arkansas—Hobart, 10; Bulkeley, 1; Evans, 5.
California—Hobart, 14; Bulkeley, 1; Evans, 3.
Connecticut—Bulkeley, 12.
Delaware—Hobart, 6.
Florida—Hobart, 5; Evans, 3.
Georgia—Hobart, 5; Evans, 21.
Illinois—Hobart, 44; Evans, 4.
Indiana—Hobart, 12; Evans, 16; Reed, 1; Thurston, 1

Iowa—Hobart, 8; Bulkeley, 10; Evans, 5; Grant, 2.
Kansas—Hobart, 20; Reed, 1.
Kentucky—Hobart, 8; Evans, 17; Depew, 1.
Louisiana—Hobart, 8; Evans, 8.
Maine—Hobart, 2; Bulkeley, 2; Evans, 5; Depew, 2; Morton, 1.
Maryland—Hobart, 14; Bulkeley, 1; Evans, 1.
Massachusetts—Hobart, 14; Bulkeley, 4; Evans, 12.
Michigan—Hobart, 21; Evans, 7.
Minnesota—Hobart, 6; Evans, 12.
Mississippi—Hobart, 13; Evans, 5.
Missouri—Hobart, 10; Evans, 23; Thurston, 1.
Montana—Hobart, 1; five absent.
Nebraska—Hobart, 16.
Nevada—Hobart, 3.
New Hampshire—Hobart, 8.
New Jersey—Hobart, 20.
New York—Hobart, 72.
North Carolina—Hobart, 1½; Evans, 20½.
North Dakota—Hobart, 3; Evans, 3.
Ohio—Hobart, 25: Bulkeley, 6; Evans, 15.
Oregon—Hobart, 8.
Pennsylvania—Hobart, 64.
Rhode Island—Lippitt, 8.
South Carolina—Hobart, 3; Evans, 15.
South Dakota—Hobart, 8.
Tennessee—Evans, 24.
Texas—Hobart, 11; Evans, 12.
Utah—Hobart, 5.
Vermont—Hobart, 8.
Virginia—James A. Walker, 24.
Washington—Hobart, 8.
West Virginia—Hobart, 3; Evans, 20; Reed, 1.
Wyoming—Hobart, 6.
Arizona—Hobart, 4; Bulkeley, 1; Evans, 1.
Oklahoma—Hobart, 4; Evans, 2.
Indian Territory—Hobart, 6.
District of Columbia—Hobart, 2.
Alaska—Hobart, 4.

Totals—Hobart, 535½; Bulkeley, 39; Evans, 277½; Lippitt, 8; James A. Walker, 24; Reed, 3; Thurston, 2; Depew, 3; Morton, 1; Grant, 2.

Absent—Montana, 5; Nevada, 3; Texas, 7; Colorado, 8. Total absent, 23. Necessary to a choice, 448.

Then at ten minutes to eight o'clock, the eleventh National Republican Convention adjourned *sine die.*

At McKinley's Home.

Six hundred miles away, in the State of Ohio, is the pleasant town of Canton, the home of the nominee of the Republican party for the Presidency of the United States. What an impressive illustration of the wonderful studies in discovery it was, that William McKinley, during the tempestuous scenes we have attempted to describe, sat in his library and heard the cheering, the shouts, the speeches and the whirlwind which accompanied his nomination and kept as close track of the proceedings as if he were sitting on the platform and looking into the sea of upturned faces! Such was the amazing fact, for the telephone to which his ear was turned reported everything almost as faithfully as his own eyes and ears could have done, and he, more than half a thousand miles distant, knew the result as soon as did the excited delegates themselves.

An Ideal Home.

A sweet and winsome picture is that home in Ohio. Ida Saxton was the daughter of the editor and proprietor of the *Canton Repository.* Bright in mind and beautiful in person, she received every possible advantage of education, including a visit to Europe. She was admired and beloved by all who knew her and was the idol of her father's household.

William McKinley, the handsome youth who at

the age of seventeen years enlisted in the service of his country, who was the friend of Sheridan, Hayes, Crook, Rosecrans and other military leaders, came back to Canton, a seasoned veteran of the war, by the time he had reached his majority, a major by virtue of his patriotic achievements and because of his conspicuous bravery. Having studied law and been elected Prosecuting Attorney, he was attracted by the worth and charms of Miss Ida Saxton, whom he won away from all suitors and married in 1871. The happy couple began keeping house in the pretty dwelling which is still their home, and to which they gladly returned after twenty years of residence in Washington and the capital of their own State, and happy would have been the wife could the rest of their days be spent amid their loved friends and surroundings far from the turmoil and trials of public life.

An old gentleman one time, when giving his experience at a religious meeting, said: "If any one doubts my religion, let him go home and ask my wife." What more crucial test could he have offered? It is the home life, the daily going out and coming in, which shows a man as he is. The picture which commands the profoundest admiration is a view of Mr. McKinley in his own household.

Of course he and his wife were lovers a quarter of a century ago, but not a whit more so than they are to-day. They are just as fond of each other, and the treatment and daily life of the husband is as

chivalrous as it was when he led the beautiful woman to the altar.

The shadows which fell across their threshold seemed to bring them into closer companionship. Two daughters were born to them, but one died as a little baby and the other, after filling the household with sunshine and happiness, was borne away by the angels when four years of age. From that sorrow the mother never fully recovered, and she will be an invalid for the remainder of her days. During her husband's administration as governor of Ohio, she was unable to enter into the social life of the State capital to any considerable degree. She received callers, though compelled to recline upon a couch while doing so and was unable to return any of the calls. She gives much attention to charities, and with her own hands makes many garments for the poor. Like her husband, she is a strong advocate of the temperance cause, and her keenness of intellect and intuitive judgment have often been of great help to him in his public career. The commendation of no man or group of men is as dear to him as that of his wife.

The couple are members of the Broad Street Methodist Episcopal Church of Canton, and when they are at home, he invariably attends the morning services on Sunday, spending the evenings with his wife, who is seldom able to go to church at all, though it is a source of gratification to all to know that her health to-day is better than it has been for years.

A most interesting member of the household is the mother of Mr. McKinley. Although eighty-seven years of age, her mind is as bright as ever and her concern in her gifted son as active as when she bade him God-speed, and he shouldered his musket and marched to war. She is naturally proud of him, for, as the mother of Washington said, "He was always a good boy," but now and then she reminds him that he is still her "boy," and if necessary subject to her discipline.

During the stirring week of the Convention the major was sitting on his porch talking to a group of friends, when an old lady was seen approaching the gate.

"That's my mother!" he exclaimed, springing to his feet and hurrying down the walk to meet her. He gave her his arm and bringing her to the porch, introduced her to each in turn, saw that she was provided with the most comfortable chair, and to none gave more loving attention than to her.

On that eventful Thursday, Mrs. McKinley was in the parlor, surrounded by relatives and near friends, including the major's mother, when the husband in his office caught the words as they were uttered in the Auditorium at St. Louis, "Ohio, McKinley." Without speaking, he rose from his chair, hurried across the hall to his wife and bending over, kissed her with the words: "Ida, Ohio's vote has just nominated me."

In another place we have given the leading events in the career of William McKinley and the incidents just told complete the picture.

Although Garret A. Hobart, the nominee for Vice-President, has less of a national reputation than his chief, he possesses marked executive ability, great administrative talent and a popularity in his State which is felt and acknowledged from Sussex to Cape May. He has indefatigable energy, an intuitive knowledge of men and no superior as a political manager.

Mr. Hobart's public career is given in another part of this volume, but a long personal acquaintance of the writer with him leads to the declaration that one of the wisest steps of the convention was taken when he was placed on the ticket with McKinley. Mr. Hobart proved his remarkable power as a campaign manager when, mainly through his efforts, John W. Griggs was chosen the first Republican governor of New Jersey in twenty years, his majority rising far above the figures named by his most sanguine friends.

The mental qualities of Mr. Hobart resemble in many respects those of Speaker Reed. He has the same quickness of perception, the same wit and keenness of repartee and the same "courage of his convictions," and moral bravery which drives away all semblance of hesitation when once he has decided upon the right course to pursue, or rather to lead, since he is a leader rather than a follower. He cannot fail to prove a tower of strength in the stirring campaign into which he will throw all his energies and ability.

WILLIAM McKINLEY.
Ex-Governor of Ohio.

The Republican Platform

Adopted at St. Louis, June 18th, 1896.

FOR THE EXISTING GOLD STANDARD AND PROTECTION—UNMISTAKABLE UTTERANCES OF THE CONVENTION—AMERICAN INTERESTS TO BE ADVANCED AT HOME AND ABROAD—THE MONROE DOCTRINE REAFFIRMED—SYMPATHY FOR CUBA.

THE Republicans of the United States, assembled by their representatives in National Convention, appealing for the popular and historical justification of their claims to the matchless achievements of thirty years of Republican rule, earnestly and confidently address themselves to the awakened intelligence, experience and conscience of their countrymen in the following declaration of facts and principles:

For the first time since the Civil War the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the Government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by $262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual

menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates, and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule. In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise and crippled American production, while stimulating foreign production for the American market. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the Government shall be rescued from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable of conducting it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and shall be restored to the party which for thirty years administered it with unequalled success and prosperity. And in this connection we heartily endorse the wisdom, patriotism and the success of the Administration of President Harrison.

Allegiance to Protection Renewed.

We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of Protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producer; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman; it puts the factory by the side of the farm, and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign de-

mand and prices; it diffuses general thrift and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application it is just, fair and impartial, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism.

We denounce the present Democratic tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products, as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the Government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of the time and of production; the ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest.

Reciprocity Demanded.

We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican Administration was a national calamity, and we demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure enlarged

markets for the products of our farms, forests and factories.

Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be re-established. Protection for what we produce; free admission for the necessaries of life which we do not produce; reciprocal agreements of mutual interest which gain open markets for us in return for our open market to others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade and secures our own market for ourselves; reciprocity builds up foreign trade and finds an outlet for our surplus.

We condemn the present Administration for not keeping faith with the sugar producers of this country; the Republican party favors such protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use and for which they pay other countries more than $100,000,000 annually. To all our products—to those of the mine and the field, as well as those of the shop and the factory—to hemp, to wool, the product of the great industry of sheep husbandry, as well as to the finished woolens of the mill—we promise the most ample protection.

Merchant Marine.

We favor restoring the early American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American ships—the product of American labor, employed in Ameri-

can shipyards, sailing under the Stars and Stripes, and manned, officered and owned by Americans—may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

The Currency Plank.

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payment in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold.

We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote; and, until such agreement can be obtained, the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolable the obligations of the United States and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

Justice to Veterans.

The veterans of the Union armies deserve and should receive fair treatment and generous recognition. Whenever practicable, they should be given the preference in the matter of employment, and they are entitled to the enactment of such laws as are best calculated to secure the fulfilment of the

pledges made to them in the dark days of the country's peril. We denounce the practice in the Pension Bureau, so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present administration, of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the rolls, as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

Foreign Relations.

Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous and dignified, and all our interests in the Western hemisphere carefully watched and guarded. The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign Power should be permitted to interfere with them; the Nicaragua Canal should be built, owned and operated by the United States, and, by the purchase of the Danish Islands, we should secure a proper and much-needed naval station in the West Indies.

The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey, American residents have been exposed to the gravest dangers, and American property destroyed. There, and everywhere, American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

We reassert the Monroe Doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeals of

any American State for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered, and shall not interfere, with the existing possessions of any European Power in this hemisphere, but those possessions must not, on any pretext, be extended. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European Powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all of the English-speaking part of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants.

Suffering Cuba.

From the hour of achieving their own independence, the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty. The Government of Spain, having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence, and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

The Navy.

The peace and security of the Republic, and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth, demand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibility. We therefore

favor the continued enlargement of the navy and a complete system of harbor and seacoast defences.

Foreign Immigration.

For the protection of the equality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

Civil Service.

The Civil Service law was placed on the statute book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

Free Ballot.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast.

Lynchings.

We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and barbarous practices well known as lynching and killing of human beings, suspected or charged with crime, without process of law.

National Arbitration.

We favor the creation of a National Board of Arbi-

JAMES E. CAMPBELL.

Ex-Governor of Ohio.

tration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employed engaged in inter-State commerce.

Homesteads.

We believe in an immediate return to the free homestead policy of the Republican party, and urge the passage by Congress of the satisfactory free homestead measure which has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate.

Territories.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from bona fide residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

We believe the citizens of Alaska should have representation in the Congress of the United States, to the end that needful legislation may be intelligently enacted.

Temperance and Rights of Women.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women. Protection of American industries includes equal opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and protection to the home. We favor the

admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness, and welcome their co-operation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populistic mismanagement and misrule.

Such are the principles and policies of the Republican party. By these principles we will abide, and these policies we will put into execution. We ask for them the considerate judgment of the American people. Confident alike in the history of our great party and in the justice of our cause, we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that the election will bring victory to the Republican party and prosperity to the people of the United States.

Life and Public Services of William McKinley.

CAREER IN WAR AND PEACE, AS SOLDIER, LAWYER, CONGRESSMAN AND GOVERNOR—HIS COMMANDING PART IN FRAMING A TARIFF MEASURE—NOTABLE SERVICES IN THE EXECUTIVE CHAIR OF THE BUCKEYE STATE.

By Hon. John Sherman.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY was born at Niles, O., January 29th, 1843, and is therefore just past 53 years of age. He is now in the prime of vigorous manhood, and his powers of endurance are not excelled by any American of his age. The best evidence of this is the many campaigns which he has made during his public life in behalf of the Republican party. He has proved his ability and endurance by the number and perfection of the speeches which he has delivered.

His education, for reasons that could not be surmounted, was limited to the public schools of Ohio and to a brief academic course in Allegheny College. He taught school in the country and accumulated the small means necessary to defray the expenses of that sort of education. This is the kind of schooling that has produced many of the most eminent Americans in public and private life.

His War Services.

McKinley entered the Union Army in June, 1861,

enlisting in the Twenty-third Ohio Infantry when a little more than 17 years of age. This was a noted regiment. Among its earlier field officers may be mentioned General W. S. Rosecrans, General Scammon, General Stanley Matthews, General Rutherford B. Hayes, General Comley and many other conspicuous men.

He served during the entire war, rising from the position of a private to the rank of major. He was a soldier on the front line, served in battles, marches, bivouacs and campaigns, and received the official commendation of his superior officers on very many occasions.

He returned to Ohio with a record of which any young man might well be proud and to which the old soldiers of the country will point with great enthusiasm should he be honored by an election to the Presidency. There are in the United States at this time more than a million soldiers of the late war who served on the Union side still living and voting, and they have sons and their relatives, all of whom taken in the aggregate become a power in a presidential election.

His military career, while he was not in high command, is full of heroic incidents which are proven not only by contemporaneous publications in the newspapers, but by official reports of his superior officers. He was not only a gallant and splendid soldier, full of endurance and personal energy, but he was the calm, judicious staff officer who won the commenda-

tions of his superiors by exhibition of good judgment and wise administrative capacity.

Returning from the war, he found it necessary to choose his employment for life, and without further schooling he entered earnestly upon the study of law in the office of Judge Poland, and was a careful, faithful, industrious and competent student. He entered the Albany Law School and graduated from that institution with high honors. He then began the practice of law in Canton with the same enthusiasm and devotion to duty which he had always manifested. As a practitioner at the bar he at once exhibited superior qualities, careful, studious and faithful. He was elected Prosecuting Attorney of his county and distinguished himself by his learning, fidelity and efficiency in the discharge of his duties to the public and his clients.

Elected to Congress.

He was elected a member of the Forty-fifth Congress, and served in that Congress and the Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, and was certified as elected to the Fiftieth, but was excluded by a Democratic majority in a contest, but was returned to the Fifty-first, making his Congressional career nearly fourteen years. As a member of Congress he was attentive, industrious and untiring, working his way gradually until he reached the post of leader of the Republican majority of the Fifty-first Congress.

He did not attain this position by accident or by any fortuitous circumstance, but by constant atten-

tion to his duties and a careful study of the public measures of importance. He was a candidate for Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-first Congress. Mr. Reed, the successful candidate, appointed him as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and he entered upon the duties incident to that position with energy and intelligence. There was a necessity and a well-defined public demand for tariff legislation in that Congress.

The Republican party had come into power by the election of Mr. Harrison, with the understanding and pledge that tariff revision should be accomplished at once. The tariff laws of 1883 required amendment and improvement on account of the lapse of time and change of circumstances. In 1890 it was decided to present a complete revision of the tariff, and to this work McKinley devoted himself with untiring industry. He had upon that committee many competent assistants, but the chief burdens necessarily fell upon the chairman.

His Tariff Measure.

Speaker Reed was in hearty sympathy and earnest co-operation, and the House of Representatives, on the 21st day of May, 1890, passed the bill known as the McKinley Tariff Bill. Any one turning to the great debate in the House of Representatives pending the passage of that measure in the Committee of the Whole, will appreciate the great scope of McKinley's knowledge of the subject-matter of that enactment.

It has never been claimed by McKinley's friends that he was the sole author of the McKinley Bill.

Not only did he have able supporters and assistants, but he yielded to them under all circumstances opportunities for demonstrating their leadership upon subjects connected with the bill, and over and over again expressed in public and in private his great admiration for the assistance contributed by his colleagues in the committee.

But it is fair to say that McKinley mastered the the whole subject in Congress in detail. He has made the subject of protective tariff a life study. Born and reared within the sound of the rolling-mill and beneath the smoke and flame of furnaces, and with the full knowledge of the calls of labor and the necessities of capital, he has grown up from childhood a student of economic questions involved in American legislation, and so he brought to this task in the Fifty-first Congress remarkable knowledge of details and thorough equipment for the great work devolved upon him. McKinley is a man of conspicuous modesty. He never claimed the exclusive authorship of this measure, but it must be admitted that he contributed more than any one else to the policy of combining in a tariff law ample provision for sufficient revenue to meet the expenditures of the Government, and at the same time to protect and foster impartially all domestic labor and production from undue competition with the poorly paid labor of foreign nations.

It is often asserted that the McKinley Act failed in providing sufficient revenue to support the Govern-

ment. This is not true, as it did furnish revenue to meet expenditures, but it did not provide a surplus equal to the sinking fund for the reduction of the public debt. This was not the fault of McKinley or of the House of Representatives, but of the Senate, which insisted upon reciprocity clauses which largely reduced the revenue provided by that act.

The Campaign of 1892.

It was the misfortune of the McKinley Act that it took effect at the opening of a presidential contest, and when "labor troubles" excited the public mind. The election of 1892 fell with demoralizing and almost crushing weight upon the Republican party of the country. The law of 1890 was everywhere, by Republicans and Democrats, denominated the McKinley Law, and from ocean to ocean the common people learned to so denominate it.

At that time Major McKinley not only did not seek to evade the responsibility of his position, but frankly and openly admitted it, and he counseled courage and fortitude, and gave assurance of his strong faith in the ultimate triumph of the Republican party upon the very principles which then seemed to be repudiated by the people.

Addressing himself to an audience of discouraged Republicans in February, 1893, he said:

"The Republican party values its principles no less in defeat than in victory. It holds to them after a reverse as before, because it believes in them, and believing in them is ready to battle for them. They

MRS. WM. McKINLEY.

are not espoused for mere policy nor to serve in a single contest. They are set deep and strong in the hearts of the party and are interwoven with its struggles, its life and its history.

"Without discouragement, our great party reaffirms its allegiance to Republican doctrine and with unshaken confidence seeks again the public judgment through public discussion. The defeat of 1892 has not made Republican principles less true nor our faith in their ultimate triumph less firm. The party accepts with true American spirit the popular verdict, and challenging the interpretation put upon it by our political opponents takes an appeal to the people, whose court is always open—whose right of review is never questioned.

"The Republican party, which made its first appearance in a national contest in 1856, has lost the Presidency but three times in thirty-six years and only twice since 1860. It has carried seven presidential elections out of ten since its organization. It has more than once witnessed an apparent condemnation of Republican policy swiftly and conclusively reversed by a subsequent and better-considered popular verdict. When defeat has come, it has usually followed some measure of public law or policy where sufficient time has not elapsed to demonstrate its wisdom and expediency, and where the opposing party by reason thereof enjoyed the widest range of popular prejudice and exaggerated statements and misrepresentation."

This was the language of a bold leader of public

opinion. There was no trimming, no hiding from responsibility, no shirking from the great question of protection.

After the passage of the tariff act of 1890 the country rang with the designation "McKinley Law" as a term of reproach. The man who had given his name to that act when it was denounced, boldly proclaimed his responsibility for it. When the tide turned in his favor he heartily acknowledged the aid of his colleagues.

Powers of Leadership.

My familiar association, as a Senator from Ohio, with McKinley during his service in the House of Representatives, enables me to say that he won friends from all parties by uniform courtesy and fairness, unyielding in sustaining the position of his party upon every question on the floor of the House. His leadership was, nevertheless, not offensive or aggressive, and while he carried his points, he was always courteous to his opponents, impersonal in debate, and always ready to concede honest motives to his opponents.

At the close of the Fifty-first Congress, and when his services as Congressman ended, he retired without leaving behind him a single enemy, and yet he had been unswerving in party fealty and uncompromising upon every question of principle. His name became linked with the great measure of that Congress by the common voice of the people of the whole country and by the world at large.

He, shortly after his service in Congress, entered upon the campaign for Governor of Ohio. He was nominated by acclamation in 1891. The State had been carried in 1890 by the Republicans by a very close majority, and the drift in the country was against the success of the Republican party. The discussion by Major McKinley in Ohio of the tariff and currency questions was one of the most thorough and instructive of all the debates in that State. It was a counterpart, in large measure, of that of 1875, when, after a series of defeats throughout the country, growing out of the use of irredeemable paper money, President Hayes, then a candidate for Governor of Ohio, boldly advocated the resumption of specie payments, and was elected on that issue. It was a campaign where principles won against prejudices.

So, in the campaign of 1891, Governor McKinley, disregarding threatened disasters, adhered without compromise to the platform of principles involved in the tariff legislation of Congress. He neither apologized nor modified his position, and his election by upwards of 20,000 majority in that year was the significant result.

His Work as Governor.

The office of Governor of Ohio was to McKinley a new field of action. It was the first executive office he had ever held. It was his first experience in administrative duty. His success in that department of the public service was as significant and

conspicuous as his experience in the legislative department of the General Government had been.

He was Governor during a period involving excitement and intense commotion in Ohio, the strikes among the coal miners, the organizing of bands of tramps, and the passage across the State of great bodies of turbulent people. All these things tended to precipitate commotion and disorder. His administration as a Governor was without reproach or just criticism. He was faithful to every duty, firm, unyielding and defiant in the administration of the law.

When necessary, he called out the troops and crushed disorder with an iron hand, but before doing so he resorted to every proper expedient to maintain order and the law. He was diplomatic, careful, persuasive and generally restored order and good government.

The great depression of 1894–95 brought a condition of suffering to many of the leading industries of the State. Charity was appealed to by the Governor, and aid rendered promptly and efficiently. In January, 1896, he retired from the office of Governor at the end of his second term, with the hearty good will of all the people of the State. He had yielded to no unworthy influence, made duty, honor, integrity and fidelity the criterion of his administration, and he took his place in the ranks of the private citizens of the State in the town from which he had first entered Congress.

Knowledge on Many Topics.

It has been said that Governor McKinley's knowledge is limited to a single subject, and that his speeches have been confined to the tariff question. This is a great mistake. His studies and speeches embraced a great variety of subjects and extended to nearly every measure of importance discussed while he was in Congress, and his addresses to the people, a long list of which has been published, cover every variety of subjects appropriate to the time and place when they are delivered.

On the vital question of the currency he has held the position of the Republican party. When under the stress of war the United States was compelled to use irredeemable money, he acquiesced in conditions he could not change, but every step taken to advance the credit and value of the United States notes while he has been in public life, he has supported. He supported the act for the resumption of specie payments and the successful accomplishment of that measure. I know of no act or vote or speech of his inconsistent with this position.

He advocates the use of both gold and silver coins as money to the extent and upon the condition that they can be maintained at par with each other. This can only be done by purchasing as needed the cheaper metal at market value and coining it at the legal rate of 16 of silver to 1 of gold and receiving it in payment of public dues. Gold is now the standard of value. With free coinage of silver, that metal will be the standard of value and gold will be demonetized.

Governor McKinley is opposed to the free coinage of silver and has so repeatedly declared in his speeches.

In his last gubernatorial canvass in Ohio, Governor McKinley made this response to the declaration of his opponent, ex-Governor Campbell, that he was willing to "chance it" on silver:—"My worthy opponent should not 'chance' anything with a question of such vital and absorbing interest as the money of the people. The money of America must be equal to the best money of the world. Unlike my opponent, I will not ask you to take any chances on this question; I will clearly and unequivocally say to you that my choice and influence are in favor of the best money that the ingenuity of man has devised. The people are not prepared to indulge in the speculation of free and unlimited coinage."

For Honest Money.

McKinley is in favor of honest money. He said:

"The Republican party stands now, as ever, for honest money, and a chance to earn it by honest toil. It stands for a currency of gold, silver and paper that shall be as sound as the Government and as untarnished as its honor. I would as soon think of lowering the flag of our country as to contemplate with patience or without protest any attempt to degrade or corrupt the medium of exchanges among our people. The Republican party can be relied upon in the future as in the past to supply our country with the

best money ever known, gold, silver and paper, good the world over."

It has been said that the recent Ohio platform does not declare against free coinage of silver and for honest money. This is not a fair construction of that declaration. The people of Ohio are for that money which has the highest purchasing power, that which yields to labor the highest wages, to be paid in the best money, and to domestic productions the highest price in the best money, and that is gold coin, or its equivalent in other money of equal purchasing power. This, I believe, is also the opinion of Governor McKinley, and is the doctrine of the Republican party.

In his domestic life Governor McKinley is a model American citizen. It is not the purpose of the writer of this sketch to use fulsome language or to comment upon his private life, beyond the mere statement that he is and has been an affectionate son of honored parents still living, a devoted husband and a true friend. In his family and social life, and in his personal habits, he commends himself to the friends of order, temperance and good morals. In private he is exemplary, in public life a patriotic Republican.

It may be said of him, with great propriety, that no man can more fully represent in his own career than he the great issues upon which the Republican party will contest the election of 1896.

Life and Public Services of Garret Augustus Hobart,

The Distinguished New Jersey Nominee for Second Place.

GARRET AUGUSTUS HOBART, the distinguished son of New Jersey who has been selected as the Republican candidate for Vice-President, is a big, rosy-cheeked gentleman, known to most every Jerseyman as "Gus" Hobart. His face is as open as a book, and his clear eyes, dark hair and brown mustache create the impression on first sight that he is a man of 40 or 45 years. His age is 52.

His Personal Magnetism.

He is a man of much magnetism and amicability. He has displayed locomotive energy in all of his undertakings, and is both powerful and fearless. His career as a citizen, lawyer, business man and statesman justifies all of the claims for brilliancy his friends make for him.

Jerseymen speak of him as a "true blue" native of the State, and tell of it with pride that he was born on a Monmouth County farm in 1844, and was reared amid the breezes that blow off the shores of Long Branch.

He received a common school education, was sent

GARRET AUGUSTUS HOBART,
Republican Candidate for Vice-President.

to Rutgers College at 15 and at 19 was given the degree of A. M. He is now an LL. D. The degree was given him by his *alma mater*. His friend and associate, Governor Griggs, was honored at the same time with the same degree.

Mr. Hobart began the study of law with Socrates Tuttle, of Paterson, who was then the leading practitioner of East Jersey. He was admitted as an attorney in 1864 and as a counselor in 1869.

His Mission as a Peacemaker.

It is about thirty years ago that Mr. Hobart had his first law case, just after having been admitted to the bar. It was some trivial suit before a Justice of the Peace. The young attorney won the case, and was as happy as a peacock. No one then imagined the rapid strides the youthful-looking lawyer was destined to make. But it was not the ordinary course of a lawyer. He always, strange as it may seem, discouraged litigation to the extent that it would be carried into court. His method of dealing with a case would be something like this:

His client having laid down the usual retaining fee, Mr. Hobart would ask:

"Well, what is your side of the case?" And the client would tell.

"Now," he would ask, "what does the other fellow claim?"

This would also be related. Then Mr. Hobart would argue this way: "You claim this, and your ad-

versary says such and such is the case. Now what does the difference amount to?"

In a singularly practical way, the young attorney would bring the thing right down to the merits, and then, as if by intuition, make some sort of a suggestion that would, if accepted, make his client satisfied and his opponent willing. Mr. Hobart would probably go to see the man on the other side and talk to him. That settled it. No one could resist the magnetic influence of the young lawyer. All the fight would be talked out of both sides, and the chances were that in nine cases out of ten in less than twenty-four hours the two "deadly enemies" would be shaking hands together and be for the rest of their lives the warmest friends.

In this way Mr. Hobart has been going through life, smoothing things, making friends not only for himself, but making friends between other people. His genial personal attention and influence have probably amicably settled more controversies than any other hundred men have done in the State of New Jersey. His entire course in life has been to make things harmonious rather than to stir up strife. It is for this reason that, while Mr. Hobart has had an immense legal business ever since he first hung out his shingle, he has actually appeared in court a smaller number of times than, perhaps, any other lawyer in Passaic County. The short and satisfactory manner of his adjusting disputes gave him more time to attend to a larger number of cases than those who were waiting around the courtrooms, and conse-

quently he made more money and made it more rapidly than the ordinary lawyer.

Entrance into Politics.

Mr. Hobart's entrance into politics was made in May, 1871, when the Board of Aldermen of the city of Paterson selected him as City Counsel. The next year he was made counsel for the Board of Chosen Freeholders of Passaic County. These two offices brought him in direct contact with all the prominent men of Passaic County and gave him almost daily opportunity to show his ability as a lawyer and politician.

These associations were directly beneficial, resulting in his selection in 1872 to the House of Assembly. He made a good record during his first year, taking an active part in all debates, and at once acquired a State reputation. Without scarcely turning a hand he was re-elected in 1873 and was made the caucus nominee for Speaker of the House, being unanimously elected.

He took the gavel untrammeled by promises or pledges and was enabled to select his committees and direct the work of the House as his judgment suggested.

In 1875 he declined a re-election. His clientage had become extensive and he needed all his time and energy for his profession. In 1877 he was induced to accept the Senatorial nomination and was elected. His success as Senator was even greater than that in the Lower House.

He served his three years with distinction and was promptly re-elected by the largest majority Passaic County had ever given to any candidate. His extended experience and the fact that he was a second term man, returned by such a complimentary vote, made him a formidable candidate for President of the Senate, and in 1881 he was accorded that honor. In 1882 he was again called to preside over the Upper House.

His legislative career was a brilliant one. He made himself popular with all the prominent men of the State because of his ability, amiability and fairness. In 1884 he was the Republican caucus nominee for United States Senator.

Prominent in the Senate.

He was also a candidate for United States Senator in 1882. The Senate was Republican, but the House was Democratic. Congressman John J. Gardner of Atlantic City was President of the Senate. A successor to United States Senator McPherson was to be chosen. Mr. McPherson sought to succeed himself. Ex-Senator H. S. Little was leading a vigorous opposition against him.

An effort was made to get a strong candidate, and among those selected was the late Chancellor, Theodore Runyon, the present Attorney-General, John P. Stockton, and Leon Abbett. The Democrats were very much mixed, and the Republicans selected Garret A. Hobart as their candidate, having assurances of a number of Democratic votes.

The Democrats had only a slim majority on joint ballot and five of them were disaffected as to McPherson. Senator John W. Taylor and twenty Republicans gave assurances to Senator McPherson that they would assist him in the event of the Democratic plotters being successful. The Senate voted for Mr. Hobart, and he received altogether thirty-six votes against forty-three given to Senator McPherson.

Recognized as a Leader.

Senator Hobart made the same remarkable advance in State politics as in county matters, and he was readily recognized as a leader and was selected a member of the State Committee while presiding over the Senate. In 1880 he was elected Chairman, a place which he held until the selection of John Kean, six years ago.

He has, however, always been a committeeman-at-large, and in all succeeding campaigns has given his undivided time to the work of the Republican party. His good judgment in political matters, as well as his aggressiveness, caused him to be selected in 1884 as a member of the National Committee from New Jersey.

He gave to national politics the same energy and did his work with the same affability. He speedily won distinction in national politics and was made Vice-Chairman. The duties imposed upon him in the National Committee did not, however, cause him to lose interest in New Jersey affairs, even to a personal direction of the policy of his party in the Fifth

New Jersey Congressional District, where he then resided.

Mentioned for Governor.

Mr. Hobart has several times been mentioned as a candidate for Governor, and he was prominent in the public mind at the time John W. Griggs declared himself a candidate.

It is well known that Garret A. Hobart secured the nomination of the present Republican Governor. They were fast friends and associated together in a number of enterprises, had studied law in the same office, and the Governor became Mr. Hobart's political successor, following him in the House of Assembly and in the Senate.

When it was announced that Garret A. Hobart was a candidate for Governor, Senator Griggs called upon him and in a friendly conversation asked him for a definite expression on the subject, which was then somewhat in doubt. He received from Mr. Hobart the assurance that the announcement of his candidacy for Governor was only a newspaper joke. It was then that Senator Griggs declared himself as a candidate and secured the promise of Mr. Hobart's active support.

He personally conducted the campaign, and notwithstanding the fact that there were six candidates in the field, he secured the nomination for Griggs and then assumed the duties of Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican State Committee, and devoted every hour of his time until he secured Griggs' election by over 26,000 plurality.

This was a climax to all his political successes in the State, which made him a leader, indorsed and respected.

Active in Business Life.

Mr. Hobart is considered a wealthy man, but is not a millionaire, but a man comfortably fixed, keenly enjoying the friends that he has made and the success that has come to him because of his energy and ability. He is active in benevolent enterprises.

His active business life has been equally successful. Although Mr. Hobart entered active life as a lawyer, his abilities soon demanded a wider field. He was chosen to fill a number of places requiring skillful business management.

The first trust of importance which fell to him was the charge of the New Jersey Midland Railway as receiver.

He so managed the affairs of that corporation as to place the road on a basis to which it has owed its subsequent success. He was also receiver of the Montclair Railroad and the Jersey City and Albany line. In 1880 the First National Bank of Newark failed. Mr. Hobart was appointed receiver.

In less than six months he had closed up its affairs, paying all the depositors in full. He has had charge of the general management of the East Jersey Water Company, with all its allied interests. He is President of the Passaic Water Company, the Acquackanock Water Company, the Paterson Railway Company's consolidated lines, the Morris County Railroad, and the People's Gas Company.

He is a director in several national banks, including the First National Bank of Paterson, and the Paterson Savings Institution. He is also on the directory boards of the New York, Susquehanna and Western Railroad, the Lehigh and Hudson River Railroad, the Barbour Brothers Company, the Barbour Flax-Spinning Company, the Pioneer Silk Company, the Edison Electric Illuminating Company, the American Cotton Oil Company, and about fifty other corporations. In many of these he also holds the place of legal adviser.

Within a year Garret A. Hobart has been appointed one of the arbitrators of the Grand Trunk Lines and Central Traffic Association of the United States.

Tremendous Business Capacity.

His capacity for business is simply tremendous. He is a director of at least sixty different companies, and his memory is so retentive that he can remember the closest details of each. If the secretary, for instance, were to read off a financial statement adopted at a previous meeting, and there was an error of a figure, he would detect it at once. He is the President of the Paterson Railway Company, which owns all the main trolley lines of the city He knows the kind of truck, the name of the conductor and motorman, and every detail of every car. As treasurer of the Cedar Lawn Cemetery Company, he does not confine himself to the financial aspect of the corporation, but can tell the location of every grave and monument. He is the President of the

W. O. BRADLEY.

First Republican Governor of Kentucky.

REDFIELD PROCTOR.

Senator from Vermont.

water company that supplies Paterson, and could, perhaps, enumerate the hydrants; and so it is with everything he is connected with, so minutely does his mind grasp everything. One would imagine that, with such a complex system of business as he manages, his brain would be all in a whirl; but it is not. When he goes to bed at night he throws away all thoughts of business as he would take off his clothes, and his head is not on his pillow three minutes before he is sleeping like a tired child.

Never a "Boss."

Garret A. Hobart was never a boss, but always a persuader of men. He has been a leader and an adviser all through his political career. His influence has always been for good in New Jersey politics. His enthusiastic admirers advocated him as the proper man to represent the East on the national ticket. They attributed to him the success of last fall, which was the climax of the fight of twenty years to ditch the Democratic machine.

All the Republicans in the State joined in the Vice-Presidential boom, somewhat to the annoyance of Mr. Hobart himself. It grew so fast that when he did attempt to check it he found it impossible. Democrats as well as Republicans shouted his praises. No man is more approachable, and the poorest laborer in Paterson finds him as easy of access as the banker or the politician.

Domestic Life.

Mr. Hobart lives in a large frame house on the corner of Carroll and Van Houten streets, in the city of Paterson. It has been his home for a number of years. As his wealth and social position increased he added to his residence, and now it is one of the largest and most sumptuous in Paterson, and is generally known as "Carroll Hall."

Mrs. Hobart was Miss Jennie Tuttle, daughter of Mr. Hobart's preceptor and a sister of Hobart Tuttle, private secretary to Governor Griggs. She is a woman of many accomplishments, having inherited much of the keen intellect and wit of her famous father.

Mr. Hobart's family consists of Garret A. Hobart, Jr., now 12 years old. His daughter, who was a great favorite in New Jersey and New York society, died last year in Italy while the family was abroad.

Mr. Hobart has a summer house at Atlantic Highlands, not far from where he was born.

He is known by everybody in Paterson, and everybody admires and respects him. There is more real affection, as affection goes between men and men, for him than perhaps for any other man in the State of New Jersey. What makes it this way is hard to describe. It is perhaps the possession of a marvellous degree of tact. The same tact, or good judgment, or ability to read character, or whatever it may be, will make him one of the most successful presiding officers the Senate ever had.

The Prohibition Convention and Platform.

"NARROW GAUGE" AND "BROAD GAUGE" PROHIBITION.

THE Seventh National Convention of the Prohibition party was held in Pittsburg, May 27th, with 810 delegates present.

There was a large attendance, significant of the growth of the party since its inception in 1869, when it cast barely 7,000 votes.

Mr. H. L. Castle, chairman of the Committee on Reception, in an address, welcomed the Convention "as the representatives of an army of 300,000 of the most loyal and single-hearted patriots, and of 600,000 as devoted, consecrated women, as ever gathered under any banner, or made warfare against any enemy."

Temporary Chairman Stevens gave an interesting historical sketch of the party, ascribing its inception to the declaration of the National Brewers' Congress, in 1867, to defend its business at the ballot box. He claimed for Pittsburg the credit of having originated, in June of that year, the counter movement, which had crystallized into the Prohibition party.

"The first convention was held in Columbus," he said, "but the party only began to assume a National importance with the convention that met in Pittsburg

in 1884, when John P. St. John was nominated for President and polled over 150,000 votes."

A resolution pledging the convention not to abate its war on the licensed rum power was ordered telegraphed to various religious bodies now in conference, also to Congress, and to Miss Frances Willard, and Lady Somerset, in England.

"Narrow Gauge" and "Broad Gauge" Prohibition.

The New York delegates in caucus decided, by a vote of 79 to 15, to stand for "narrow gauge," which means "prohibition" simply.

At a caucus of the broad gaugers a call of the roll of delegates present showed their strength to be but 335 votes, about one-third of the total vote of the convention.

Immediately after the opening of the formal proceedings, when Mr. Dickie, chairman of the National Committee, presented the name of Mr. A. A. Stevens, of Tyrone, Pa., for Temporary Chairman, the rebellion of the free silver minority broke out.

Much ill feeling developed, and Chairman Stevens himself was for a long time refused a hearing, but when at last he gained the attention of the disturbing elements he said that, though he believed he had been put forward as a representative of the element in the convention which believed in prohibition and non-divisive issues, and, though he believed on a call of States he would be sustained, he desired to withdraw his name.

This announcement was received with cheers, and

the majority report of the committee was then adopted and Mr. Stewart was escorted to the chair, Mr. Stevens retiring with the thanks of the convention.

Second Day.

One of the first acts of the Prohibition Convention, when it reassembled the next morning, was to send a telegram of sympathy to the Mayor of St. Louis.

The women were first given a hearing in favor of woman suffrage and other reforms advocated by the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Dr. J. K. Funk, of New York, Chairman of the Committee on Platform, then reported that

The first six planks, denunciatory of the liquor traffic and proposing straight-out prohibition, had been unanimously adopted. The seventh plank, which declared that the citizen should not be denied the right to vote on account of sex, he said had been adopted only by a small majority. The other planks upon which there was some division in the committee were:

Clause 8. That all citizens should be protected in their right to one day's rest a week.

9. Non-sectarian schools to be taught in the English language.

10. Election of President, Vice-President and Senators directly by the people.

11. Liberal pensions.

12. Exclusion of pauper and criminal immigrants.

13. The naturalized citizen not to vote till a year after naturalization.

14. Favoring arbitration.

15. Inviting co-operation of all persons favoring these views.

Governor St. John here rose to present the minority report and was received with loud applause from the broad-gauge faction, increasing as he read the minority money plank, as follows:

Resolved, That all money be issued by the Government only, without the intervention of any private citizen, corporation or banking institution. It should be based upon the wealth, stability and integrity of the nation, and be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and should be of sufficient volume to meet the demands of the legitimate business interests in this country and for the purpose of honestly liquidating all our outstanding obligations payable in coin. We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1, without consulting any other nation.

The other points on which the minority asked action were as follows:

17. Preserving public lands from monopoly and speculation.

18. Government control of railroads and telegraphs.

19. Favoring an income tax and imposing only such import duties as are necessary to secure equitable commercial relations with other nations.

20. Favoring the adoption of the initiative and referendum as a means of obtaining free expression of the popular will.

Vote on the Money Question.

On motion to make these recommendations part

of the majority report the fight began. Indiana delegates demanded that the vote be taken by the call of States, and New York and Pennsylvania delegates to a sufficient number seconded this demand. The vote was then taken on a motion to table Governor St. John's proposition, and resulted as follows: yeas, 310; nays, 492, so the Convention refused to make the minority report a part of the majority report.

At the afternoon session the Convention proceeded to the immediate consideration of the free silver plank, which was discussed with great warmth on each side.

After three hours' hot debate, the plank was defeated by a vote of 387 ayes to 427 nays. The Chair declared the free silver resolution lost, and, after the cheering and excitement which this announcement caused had quieted down, the Convention proceeded to the consideration of other parts of the platform, against which there was no strong opposition.

Prohibition, and it Alone.

But before much progress had been made, Mr. Patton, of Illinois, upset the whole course of proceedings, and precipated a lively debate by opposing the non-sectarian school resolution, as being the work of the American Protective Union, and he appealed to the Convention not to adopt anything which would prevent their enlisting all good citizens to aid them in fighting against the rum power. He proposed a substitute platform, which omitted mention of every subject (woman suffrage included) except Prohibition.

In a scene of intense confusion the previous ques-

tion was ordered by a rising vote, and Mr. Patton's substitute was declared adopted, and thus became the sole platform of the party.

The Platform.

The Prohibition party, in National Convention assembled, declares its firm conviction that the manufacture, exportation, importation and sale of alcoholic beverages has produced such social, commercial, industrial, political wrongs, and is now so threatening the perpetuity of all our social and political institutions, that the suppression of the same by a national party, organized therefor, is the greatest object to be accomplished by the voters of our country; is of such importance that it, of right, ought to control the political action of all our patriotic citizens, until such suppression is accomplished. The urgency of this cause demands the union, without further delay, of all citizens who desire the prohibition of the liquor traffic; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we favor the legal prohibition, by State and National legislation, of the manufacture, importation, exportation, inter-State transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages.

That we declare our purpose to organize and unite all the friends of prohibition into our party, and, in order to accomplish this end, we deem it but right to leave every Prohibitionist the freedom of his own convictions upon all other political questions, and trust our representatives to take such action upon other political questions as the changes occasioned by prohibition and the welfare of the whole people shall demand.

A recess was taken at 6.45 until 8 P. M.

ROBERT E. PATTISON.

Ex-Governor of Pennsylvania and Democratic Leader.

Joshua Levering Nominated.

As soon as the night session of the Convention was called to order, the roll was called for nominations for President and Vice-President of the United States. Mr. Tucker, of Maryland, nominated Mr. Joshua Levering, of that State.

Mr. Elisha Kent Kane, of Pennsylvania, nominated ex-Governor L. C. Hughes, of Arizona, a former citizen of Philadelphia. He claimed that President Cleveland, in the course of the grinding tyranny he was subjecting us to, had tyrannically sought to put down Governor Hughes because he had espoused the prohibition interest and had put it in the front in Arizona. He read a telegram from Governor Hughes intimating that he would accept the nomination and would stand with the party during the campaign and that he was a political Prohibitionist without qualification.

No other nominations for President were made. Mr. Levering's nomination was seconded by Mr. Hipp, of Colorado; Mr. Volney B. Cushing, of Maryland; Mr. English, of New York, and Mr. McClennan Brown, of Ohio, the latter in a most amusingly egotistical speech, which restored the Convention to uproarious good humor; also by Mr. A. A. Stevens, of Tyrone, Pa., Mr. Williams, of Rhode Island, and delegates from Georgia, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia and other States.

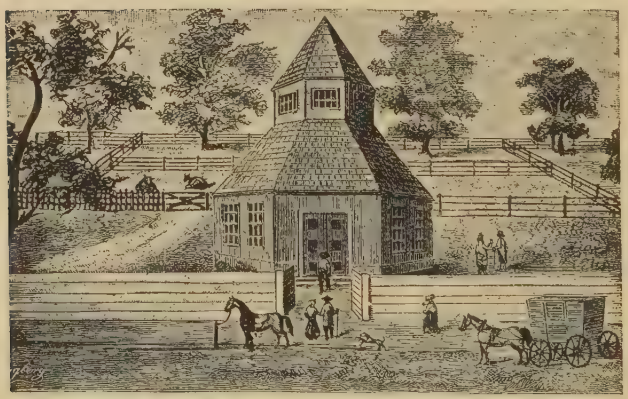
No one having seconded ex-Governor Hughes's nomination, his name was withdrawn, and Mr. Joshua

Levering, of Baltimore, was nominated by acclamation as the Prohibition standard-bearer.

With waving of flags and tumultuous demonstrations of applause the candidate was escorted to the platform and made a graceful address of acceptance.

Nominations for Vice-President were then proceeded with.

At half-past 12 o'clock the Prohibition Convention adjourned sine die, having nominated Hale Johnson, of Illinois, for Vice-President.



THE FIRST FRIENDS' MEETING-HOUSE, BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY.

JOSHUA A. LEVERING.

Prohibition Candidate for President of the United States.

Life of Joshua Levering,

THE PROHIBITION CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

JOSHUA LEVERING was born in Baltimore September 12, 1845. He attended private schools until the spring of 1861, when the exigencies of the Civil War necessitated business occupation. In 1866 he became partner with his father in the coffee importing business, under the name of E. Levering & Co., the same as at present. Eugene Levering, Sr., died in June, 1870, since which time the business has been conducted by his sons.

A Prominent Business Man.

Mr. Levering was one of the originators of the American Baptist Educational Society in 1888, and has been its Treasurer since its organization. He has also been Vice-President for a number of years of the American Baptist Publication Society, and has held the position of Vice-President of the Southern Baptist Convention. At present he is acting Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, located in Louisville, Ky. He has been director of the Provident Savings Bank of Baltimore, and President since 1887 of the Maryland House of Refuge. Elected President of the Young Men's Christian Association of his native

city in 1885, he has been unanimously re-elected every year since. He is a member of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association of the United States and Canada.

Originally an independent Democrat, Mr. Levering became a Prohibitionist in 1884, and voted for St. John that year. He was chairman of the State Prohibition Convention of 1887 and again in 1893, and also a delegate to the National conventions of 1888 and 1892. He declined to allow the use of his name for the Vice-Presidency in 1888, and, in fact, in 1892 also, but his friends insisted, and on the first ballot he received a majority of votes. Before the announcement of the result enough were changed to elect Dr. Cranfield.

Mr. Levering has been Vice-President of the State Executive Committee for some years, always refusing to accept nomination for any office, except in 1891, when he ran for State Comptroller. He received 5,443 votes.

Previous to the late State Convention he positively refused the use of his name as a candidate for Governor of Maryland. But being nominated at that convention by acclamation, the largest and most enthusiastic convention ever held in Maryland, he agreed to take the matter under consideration, if a committee was appointed to fill any vacancies should they occur.

Silver Must Be Restored.

The Issue of 1896.

BY HORACE BOIES.

THERE is no room in this country for two gold standard parties.

I am opposed to a single gold standard on broader grounds than those of a purely partisan nature. I want silver made as good as gold, because silver is the money of the masses and always has been, and will always continue to be.

Gold as a medium of exchange is practically unknown to the poor, and almost equally so to the great middle classes of our people. It is here as everywhere the money of the rich. It supplies a most limited part of the active circulating medium of the country.

It is not strange that in monarchial governments, where influence of the wealthy classes substantially controls legislation, it should be given a place in their financial systems superior to silver, for there it is the money of the classes who make the laws. But here, thank God, every citizen is a sovereign equal before the law to every other, and there is no reason that I can conceive of why the principal money of an overwhelming majority of all our people should be assigned a secondary and inferior place in our financial system.

It is law and law alone that gives to either metal the character of money. Without it one would be a commodity in the markets as much as the other.

Without its use as money one would depreciate in value in the markets as quickly and as certainly as the other.

Speculators Raid the Treasury.

The law having provided that national notes or greenbacks shall be reissued when paid into the treasury, the plainly apparent result of the policy pursued has been to enable a hoard of unscrupulous speculators to raid the treasury and deplete it of its gold over and over again as fast as they could gather up these notes, until within the limited period of about two years it has cost the nation $262,000,000, secured by interest-bearing bonds which have been sold and are now outstanding, to provide gold with which to redeem notes, the payment of which with silver was as legally and morally right as their payment in gold was, and that, too, when all that was required to stop these raids at any moment was the exercise of the Government's legal right to pay them with silver.

It is hard to be temperate in the use of language while considering this terrible mistake, this egregious blunder, this national wrong, and reflecting that it all came about through the abandonment by secretaries of the treasury of a discretion which the law wisely and explicitly placed in their own hands for the protection instead of the depletion of the treasury.

The Dollar of Our Fathers.

It is not the more valuable dollar that the imperative needs of the business world demand. Instead of this it is a cheaper dollar—a dollar the intrinsic value of which is regulated by that divine law of an omnipotent God which decreed that in the bowels of

the earth for those who delve should be found gold and silver, equally designed for use as money and largely valueless for any other essential purpose out of which a currency could be made, fair and just to those who lift it from the mine and those who use it —a dollar that will exchange anywhere in all the world for an honest dollar's worth of the products of human toil—a dollar sufficiently plentiful to start the wheels of industry, to enable the manufacturer to keep his machinery in motion, the farmer to cultivate the soil, the debtor to meet his obligation to pay, the laborer to earn enough of them to feed and clothe his wife and little ones, and sufficient in volume to furnish this whole great country of ours with a currency born of the goodness of the Creator when he filled our mountains with the two precious metals out of which he intended that money should be made.

Which is the dollar we want—the dollar of the Creator, the dollar of the Constitution, the dollar of our fathers, or the dollars of the present, born of the avarice of selfish men?

This is the great question that overshadows every other, that will never down until selfishness is curbed or hope for the masses is dead.

I for one am in favor of bimetallism because I believe my party, by its traditions, its declarations in State and National conventions, the action of a majority of its representatives in Congress through all the years that the question has been agitated, is committed to it in a way that it cannot now, without dishonor, and without a violation of its oft-repeated pledges, abandon it and adopt as one of its political tenets a single gold standard instead.

The Seventeenth National Convention Of the Democratic Party.

Chicago, July 7th, 1896.

NEVER in the history of American politics was the Democratic party confronted by such a peculiar peril as that which the Seventeenth National Convention in Chicago faced on the 7th of July, 1896. The nearest approach to it was in 1860, when the great organization was disrupted by the cyclone of civil war.

Waste of Time and Energy.

The fight opened weeks before the assembling of the delegates in the White City. The question was the unlimited coinage of silver, at the rate of 16 to 1, as opposed to the adoption of gold as the single standard. In this preliminary battle, the silver advocates won an overwhelming victory. The financial stress in the South and West led the sufferers to believe that their only relief was to be secured through the free coinage of silver, and most of the delegates were instructed to vote for such a platform and for candidates whose sentiments were unmistakably in favor of the same.

In vain did the Democratic leaders in the East, like Whitney, Gray, Hill, Flower, Harrity and others strive to stem the tide. Their arguments were thrown

WM. C. WHITNEY.

Ex-Secretary of the Navy.

WM. E. RUSSELL.

Ex-Governor, Massachusetts.

away and Senator Gray declared that all efforts in that direction were simply a waste of time and energy.

It has been the invariable custom for the National Committee to name the temporary chairman of the convention. This committee met at one o'clock on Monday, with every member in doubt as to the political strength of the opposing elements. The first vote was on the question of seating the gold delegates from Nebraska. Twenty-seven favored seating them, while twenty-three opposed. This demonstrated that the gold men had four majority. The contest in Michigan was decided in favor of the gold men, while Ohio went to the silver men, the two cases being decided solely on their merits.

Everybody "Hustling."

At the proper moment, Senator Hill of New York, was proposed as temporary chairman. Senator John W. Daniel of Virginia was named against him, but was defeated by a vote of 23 to 27. Instead of yielding to precedent, however, the silver members of the committee gave formal notice that the nomination of Senator Daniel would be made in the convention on Tuesday. In the meantime, everybody seemed to engage in "hustling," with no substantial gain by either side in any quarter.

Rev. Ernst M. Stires, an Episcopal clergyman, opened the services with an appropriate prayer, which slightly lost in effectiveness from the fact that he had prepared it beforehand and read it from a sheet of paper.

Chairman Harrity seized the helm at once and made the convention understand that he was not to play the part of ornamental figure-head. In a clear voice, which penetrated to every part of the immense hall, he announced that by direction of the Demo-

cratic National Committee he presented the name of the Hon. David B. Hill of New York, for temporary chairman. The announcement was received with cheers, which had hardly subsided, when Hon. H. D. Clayton of Alabama advanced to the platform and read the report of the minority, substituting the name of Senator Daniel for that of Hill. The convention seemed to go wild. The shout of Senator Tillman, who led the South Carolinians, could have been heard a block off, while the delegates from Mississippi, Missouri, Texas, Georgia and the West, cheered and shrieked, swung their hats, leaped upon the seats and gave several lessons in the right way of delivering the famous "rebel yell."

Mr. Clayton moved the substitution of the minority report and demanded the roll-call. His demand was echoed from different parts of the hall, but rapping vigorously with his gavel, Chairman Harrity gave the delegates to understand that so long as he occupied the chair, the proceedings would be conducted in an orderly fashion.

Expected to See the "Fur Fly."

Allan McDermott of New Jersey, has long been known as one of the most forceful and uncompromising of speakers. He delights in delivering sledge-hammer blows, and as his gold principles are known to every one, the convention expected to see the "fur fly" when he obtained the floor; but Mr. McDermott understood the wisdom of the opposite course and his speech was a conciliatory one. He complimented Senator Daniel, carefully avoided saying anything harsh of his opponents, and appealed to his fellow-Democrats not to violate all precedent by turning down the gentleman selected by the proper committee for temporary chairman. The

appeal was so skilfully put that it won much applause.

The fear of the silver men was that if Hill was allowed to act as temporary chairman, he would make too convincing a speech against their principles. There was no saying what the result of this would be, and they repeated their demands for the roll-call. But Chairman Harrity recognized National Committeeman Thomas of Colorado. He showed that he was nettled by Mr. Waller's utterances, and declared his strong personal respect and friendship for Senator Hill, though compelled by his sense of duty to vote against him in the present situation.

The surprise of the debate was the speech of J. W. St. Clair of West Virginia, who, although a free silver delegate, declared it would be a serious mistake to reject the choice of Chairman Hill.

Senator Daniel Temporary Chairman.

The discussion was closed by Mr. Clayton's renewal of his motion for the adoption of the minority report. The roll-call developed the following vote: Daniel, 556; Hill, 349; not voting 1, showing that 905 of the 918 delegates to the convention were present during the first session. Senator Hill refused to vote, while Senator Daniel cast his own vote for him. The States which voted solidly against Hill were: Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah and Wyoming. The States which voted solidly for him were Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont and Wisconsin. The States

which split on the question were Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Washington and West Virginia. The Territories played only an insignificant part in the contest.

Senator Daniel received a magnificent welcome. Delegates leaped upon their chairs, swung canes, handkerchiefs and flags, cheered, shouted and turned the convention into a pandemonium which lasted for several minutes.

Senator Daniel is a typical Southern orator, with all the fire, eloquence and magnetism of the most gifted sons of that section. He was frightfully crippled while fighting valiantly for the Confederacy, and formed a striking figure, as, leaning upon his crutch, he thrilled his listeners by his splendid sentences. He expressed gratitude for the honor conferred upon him and regret that his name should have been brought in even the most courteous competition with his distinguished friend, Senator Hill, who would readily recognize the fact, however, that there was no personality in the matter. It was solely due to the principle which the great majority of Democrats stood for, he (Mr. Daniel) standing with them, as the majority of the convention was not personal in its aims, neither was it sectional. It began with the sunrise in Maine, and spread into a sunburst in Louisiana and Texas. It stretched in unbroken lines across the continent, from Virginia and Georgia to California. It swept like a prairie fire over Iowa and Kansas, and it lighted up the horizon in Nebraska.

Senator Daniel's Speech.

When he saw that grand array, and thought of the British gold standard that was recently unfurled over the ruins of Republican promises at St. Louis, he

thought of the battle of New Orleans, of which it had been said:

> There stood John Bull in martial pomp,
> But there was old Kentucky.

There was no north, south, east or west in the uprising of the people for American emancipation from the conspiracy of European kings led by Great Britain, which sought to destroy one-half of the money of the world and to make American manufacturers, merchants, farmers, and mechanics hewers of wood and drawers of water. He appealed to all Democrats to acquiesce in the will of the great majority of their fellow-Democrats, and to go with them, as they had oftentimes gone with those to whom he appealed. Mr. Daniel continued:

Do not forget that in the last National Convention of 1892 you proclaimed yourselves to be in favor of the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country and for the coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination against either metal or charge for mintage, and that the only question left open was the ratio between the metals.

Do not forget that just four years ago, in that same Convention, the New York delegation stood here solid and immovable for a candidate committed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of sixteen to one, and that if we are for it still it is in some measure from your teachings.

What hope is there for the country, what hope for Democracy, unless the views of the majority here be adopted? The Republican party has now renounced the creed of its platforms and of our statutes. It has presented to the country the issue of higher taxes, more bonds, and less money, and has proclaimed for the British gold standard. We can only expect, should they succeed, new spasms of panic and a long-protracted period of depression. Do not ask us, then, to join them on any of these propositions.

The extreme length of Senator Daniel's speech weakened the attention paid to his remarks, and dur-

ing a great part of the time occupied in its delivery the buzz of conversation in the hall and galleries almost drowned his resonant voice. Only when he uttered some recognized phrase, such as "sixteen to one," was there any revival of interest and applause. He closed by announcing that the National Democratic Convention was now in session and would proceed to the business of organization.

The Various Committees Appointed.

Chairman Harrity was thanked for the manner in which he had discharged his duty as presiding officer; the roll was called to give each State and Territory an opportunity to name its selections for the Committees on Credentials, permanent organization, rules, and order of business and platform. The various committees having been appointed, the convention at 4.45 P. M. adjourned until Wednesday at 10 o'clock.

Wednesday's Proceedings—The Silver Men in Complete Control.

The contest the day before over the temporary chairmanship had given the silver men a fair idea of their overwhelming strength in this memorable convention. They were masters of the situation, and in the pride of their might threw all thoughts of compromise or conciliation to the winds. With the fruits of victory within their grasp, why should they allow their enemies to pluck any of it?

The "Dollar of our Daddies" Would Be Restored.

The longing eyes cast in the direction of the door where the Committee on Credentials were to appear failed to discover anything of them, and calls were made for speeches from Blackburn of Kentucky, and

other distinguished delegates, to while away the tedium of waiting. Finally Gov. David Overmeyer of Kansas took the stand and declared that the seat of empire had been transferred from the Atlantic States to the Mississippi Valley. The day of the common people had dawned and the "dollar of our daddies" would be restored. This sentiment awoke unbounded enthusiasm.

After more music, the swarthy visage of Gov. Altgeld of Illinois, in answer to loud calls, appeared alongside the Chairman. He was cordially greeted and said that he was not there to make a speech but to help nominate the next President of the United States.

I came (he said) to assist in formulating the principles of the Democratic party. Rarely have our people been confronted with so many woes of humankind as now. There is a paralysis in trade. We have seen the streets of our cities full of idle men, hungry women, and ragged children. This Convention has to deal with these unhappy conditions. Everything that the farmer and the laboring man has is mortgaged, down to the sewing machine. All these mortgages are held by English money-lenders, and they are building up wealth by the toil of our people. The money policy of this Government has been to make money dear and property and labor cheap.

Governor Altgeld asserted that it was a great conspiracy from 1873 to 1880, when the legal tender function of silver was nullified and he declared that the gold men in this convention were nothing but tools of the English money-lenders, who were trying to forge a collar around the necks of our people. The Eastern banks controlled all of the banks in the country and there was a direct connection between them and foreign capitalists.

We Shall Have No Compromise of Any Kind.

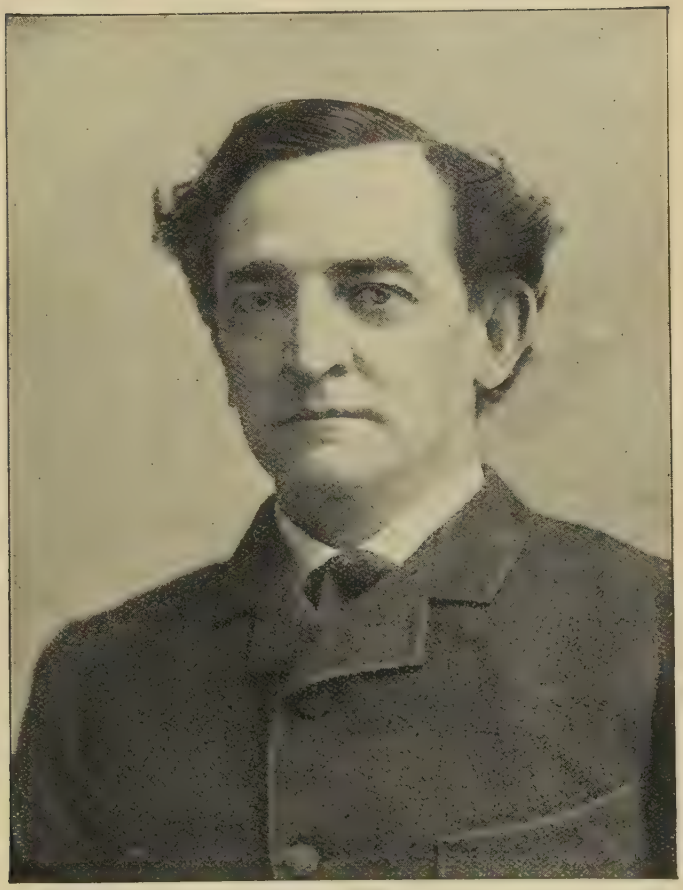
The toilers of this country are mere serfs (he shouted)

paying tribute to England, and shall we supinely surrender to English greed? No, no; we shall have no straddle plank here and no straddle candidate and no compromise of any kind. Those wise, conservative gentlemen who come to us from the East must consult the tin roosters on the roofs every morning before they give us an opinion as to what they really believe. They are all compromise. In 1776 the money classes of the East were against the Declaration of Independence. In 1861 the money classes of the East wanted a compromise on the civil war. In 1896 they want a compromise on this money question. There are hundreds of thousands of graves, on hilltops and in dense ravines, where sleep the men who fought for liberty and for right, and in not a single one of those graves rests the soul of a man who believed in compromise. The battles for liberty were not won by men who believed in compromise. We must be ready to declare the principles of the Democratic party as we believe them, and we must then be ready to defend them with our lives.

The next address was from George Fred Williams, who had the unique distinction of being a silver delegate from Massachusetts. His hand was warmly shaken by Governor Altgeld and Senator Blackburn, and the cordial welcome by the convention must have done much to soothe the resentment caused by the reproaches received at home. The few words spoken by him had the ring of true eloquence and nearly every sentence was cheered.

Report from the Committee on Credentials.

It was nearly half-past one o'clock before the Chair announced a partial report from the Committee on Credentials, recommending that six votes be granted to each of the Territories and the District of Columbia; the delegates headed by Hon. W. J. Bryan of Nebraska were seated, while more time was asked in which to consider the case of Michigan. Immediately the gold delegates from Nebraska marched



JOHN W. DANIEL.

Senator from Virginia.

out and the silver delegates with Mr. Bryan at their head took their seats. Since it was evident that no other business would be ready for several hours, an adjournment was had to five o'clock.

A few minutes before six, Chairman Daniel again called the convention to order and the Committee on Credentials presented its complete report, which admitted the contesting delegates from the Fourth and Ninth Congressional districts of Michigan and recognized the right to their seats of all the other delegates from Michigan. Since the delegates named were silver men and they made the majority in favor of silver, and inasmuch as the unit rule prevailed, this report, if confirmed, would swing the entire Michigan delegation to the silver column.

The discussion was long and bitter, during which, when McKnight of Michigan asserted that Mr. Stevenson was sent to Washington to upset the will of the people, Mr. Richardson from his seat called out, "That's a lie!" but no notice was taken of the interruption. The audience finally tired of the discussion, which was wholly useless, since not a vote could be affected. The demands for a vote were so clamorous, that the previous question was ordered.

The Minority Amendment Defeated.

The first vote was on the minority amendment, which was defeated: yeas, 368; nays, 558; absent, 4. As an evidence of the exuberance of feeling, two big Kentucky delegates at the rear of the delegates' section danced a genuine breakdown, several of their friends "patting time," while all who saw it were convulsed with the wildest laughter.

The majority report was then put and declared adopted, as was the report which made Senator White of California Permanent Chairman. He ac-

cepted the honor in appropriate words, closing as follows:

My ambition and yours are but for a moment. Whether I succeed or whether you succeed in impressing my views or your views on the Convention seems now of supreme importance, but will not seem so in the future. In this council chamber the Democratic party looks for the vindication of its existence. The people look to us here for the righting of their wrongs and for the defence of the Constitution—the great bulwark of our liberties. We are here to-night its best, its truest, and its most loyal defenders. [Cheers.] There is no sectionalism here—none whatever. Equal and impartial justice to all this land, the triumph of the people as exemplified and expressed in Democracy is the object for which we have assembled, and to carry out that object I will consecrate my best exertions. [Loud applause.]

Mr. Clark of Montana, rising in the body of the hall, produced a silver gavel from the mines of Montana, which was tendered to and accepted by the Chairman in the name of the delegation from that State. An adjournment then followed until Thursday.

Thursday's Proceedings.

The general expectation of great events drew the most enormous crowd of the session to the Convention Building, long before the hour set for the opening of the proceedings. When the Chairman rapped for order a few minutes before eleven, there were more than 15,000 people present and this number swelled to 20,000 a short time later. All were alert, attentive and expectant, for each felt that momentous events were at hand.

As soon as the opening prayer was finished, acting Chairman Richardson announced that the Committee on Resolutions was ready to report, and recognized Senator Jones of Arkansas who presented as the majority report the Platform as given elsewhere.

The clerk read the minority report, after which the following was submitted by Senator Hill:

To the Democratic National Convention: Sixteen delegates, constituting the minority of the Committee on Resolutions, find many declarations in the report of the majority to which they cannot give their assent. Some of these are wholly unnecessary. Some are ill considered and ambiguously phrased, while others are extreme and revolutionary of the well-recognized principles of the party. The minority content themselves with this general expression of their dissent without going into a specific statement of these objectionable features of the report of the majority.

But upon the financial question, which engages at this time the chief share of public attention, the views of the majority differ so fundamentally from what the minority regard as vital Democratic doctrine as to demand a distinct statement of what they hold to as the only just and true expression of Democratic faith upon this important issue, as follows, which is offered as a substitute for the financial report of the majority.

We declare our belief that the experiment on the part of the United States alone of free silver coinage and a change in the existing standard of value, independently of the action of the other great nations, would not only imperil our finances, but would retard or entirely prevent the establishment of international bimetallism, to which the efforts of the Government should be steadily directed. It would place this country at once upon a silver basis, impair contracts, disturb business, diminish the purchasing power of the wages of labor and inflict irreparable evils upon our nation's commerce and industry.

Until international co-operation among leading nations for the coinage of silver can be secured, we favor the rigid maintenance of the existing gold standard as essential to the preservation of our national credit, the redemption of our public pledges, and the keeping inviolate of our country's honor. We insist that all our paper currency shall be kept at a parity with gold. The Democratic party is the party of hard money, and is opposed to legal-tender paper money as a part of our permanent financial system, and we therefore

favor the gradual retirement and cancellation of all United States notes and Treasury notes, under such legislative provisions as will prevent undue contraction. We demand that the national credit shall be resolutely maintained at all times and under all circumstances.

The minority also feel that the report of the majority is defective in failing to make any recognition of the honesty, economy, courage and fidelity of the present Democratic administration and they therefore offer the following declaration as an amendment to the majority report:

We commend the honesty, economy, courage and fidelity of the present Democratic National Administration.

DAVID B. HILL, New York.
WILLIAM F. VILAS, Wisconsin.
GEORGE GRAY, Delaware.
JOHN PRENTISS POE, Maryland.
IRVIN W. DREW, New Hampshire.
C. O. HOLMAN, Maine.
P. J. FARRELL, Vermont.
LYNDE HARRISON, Connecticut.
DAVID S. BAKER, Rhode Island.
THOMAS A. C. WEADOCK, Michigan.
JAMES E. O'BRIEN, Minnesota.
JOHN E. RUSSELL, Massachusetts.
ROBERT E. WRIGHT, Pennsylvania.
WILLIAM R. STEELE, South Dakota.
ALLEN MCDERMOTT, New Jersey.

The proposed amendments by Senator Hill to the majority report were as follows:

FIRST AMENDMENT: But it should be carefully provided by law at the same time that any change in the monetary standard should not apply to existing contracts.

SECOND AMENDMENT: Our advocacy of the independent free coinage of silver being based on the belief that such coinage will effect and maintain a parity between gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, we declare as a pledge of our sincerity that if such free coinage shall fail to effect such parity within one year from its enactment by law, such coinage shall thereupon be suspended.

Senator Tillman of South Carolina was recognized by the Chair to offer an amendment. He was received with applause and hisses. He made a labored effort to show that the Eastern States of New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts had greatly increased in wealth when compared with the Southern and Western States, but was soon interrupted by cries of "Time." He continued for a while longer and gave way to the loud calls for Hill, who was greeted with a cyclone of enthusiasm. It far surpassed anything of the kind yet seen in the Convention and it was a long time before he could make himself heard.

"I will say that I am a Democrat," shouted the senator, "but I am not a revolutionist, and I am not attempting to drive any one out of the party." He asserted that the mission of himself and friends was to build up, not to disrupt the party which he hoped would live forever. New York made no apology to South Carolina. When other States failed to respond, New York had always been the Gibraltar of Democracy. The one issue of the Convention was to decide which was the better position to take on the money question. He started out with the proposition that his party favored both gold and silver money, but they differed as to the method of bringing this about. "It is a question of business and finance," he declared.

The senator insisted that the safest and best course for the Convention to pursue was to take the first step forward by declaring for international bimetallism. In his judgment our country could not afford to ignore the action of other nations in this matter. If it were attempted, the country might as well do away with all commercial treaties and all features of the tariff laws relating to trade with other countries.

He declared it unwise for the party to hazard the race with the single issue, for that was about the only respect in which the platform differed from the Republican platform. He attacked the income feature, defended the recent issue of bonds, and declared that defeat for their platform would be better than victory. "Keep to the good old traditions of the party," he added, "and we will win; depart from them and we will lose."

The cheers were renewed when Senator Hill returned to his seat, in the midst of which Senator Vilas ascended the platform to support his colleague's argument. His remarks, although well chosen, were in the nature of an anti-climax and the cries of "Time" hurried his peroration. He was followed by Governor Russell, of Massachusetts, who referred to Williams as producing the one false note from Massachusetts. The Governor's claim that he represented the sentiment of the old Bay State was endorsed by loud affirmative responses from his delegation.

It fell to William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, to "catch on" to the sentiment of the majority. He received an enthusiastic welcome. His speech was free from personality and marked by excellent taste and was the ablest argument presented by the advocates of free silver. "It is the issue of 1776 over again," he said. "Our ancestors, when only three millions, declared their independence of every nation on earth. Shall we, when grown to seventy millions, have less courage? If they say we cannot have bimetallism until some other nation assists, we reply we will restore bimetallism and let England adopt it because the United States has led the way. We shall answer their demand for the gold standard by saying to them: 'You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.'"

The enthusiasm awakened by this address was such that it was said by many that had nominations been in order at that moment, Bryan would have received the unanimous support of the silver men. It is safe to say that the speech gave him the nomination.

Senator Hill's substitute for the free coinage plank was then called up and rejected by a vote of: Ayes, 303; noes, 626. Mr. Hill asked for a vote by States on the resolution commending the administration. This was announced as: Ayes, 357; noes, 564; not voting 9; total, 930. The two financial amendments were then voted down *viva voce.*

The crowd was still greater at the evening session, because the crisis of the nominating speeches and the balloting had arrived. The convention was opened at half-past eight, with Representative Richardson, of Tennessee, again called to the Chair. He informed the Convention that the roll of States would be called, so that nominations for the Presidency could be made. By agreement, the nominating and seconding speeches were to be confined to thirty minutes in length.

Senator Vest was the first delegate to ascend the platform. He placed in nomination Richard Parks Bland of Missouri. His speech was a strong one, ending with the lines:

> "Give us Silver Dick, and silver quick,
> And we will make McKinley sick,
> In the ides of next November."

The nomination of Mr. Bland was seconded by Mr. David Overmeyer, of Kansas, and Hon. J. R. Williams, of Illinois.

When the State of Georgia was called, Mr. H. T. Lewis, of that State, went to the platform and placed in nomination Mr. William J. Bryan of Nebraska. This nomination was received with almost as much enthusiasm as the speech made by the gentleman

during the afternoon. It was seconded by Mr. Theo. F. Kluts of North Carolina, George Fred. Williams of Massachusetts and Thomas J. Kiernan of Louisiana.

Senator David Turpie of Indiana nominated Governor Claude Matthews of that State, and Hon. Oscar Trippett of California seconded the nomination.

Hon. Fred. White of Iowa brought forward the name of Horace Boies of Iowa. The nomination was seconded by Mr. A. T. Smith of Minnesota, who referred to the candidate as "the grand old commoner of the Hawkeye State." The demonstration in support of his name was started by two young women dressed in white, who waved a Boies banner and shouted his name until the Convention caught the contagion and confusion and enthusiasm reigned for nearly half an hour.

Hon. J. S. Rhea of Kentucky nominated Joseph S. Blackburn of Kentucky, and W. W. Foote of California seconded the nomination.

When the name of Massachusetts was called, the chairman of the delegation stated that ex-Governor Russell having declined to stand upon the platform, the State had no nomination to make.

The response of New Jersey was that she desired to nominate no man upon the platform that had been adopted, and New York made similar reply.

A. N. Patrick of Ohio placed John R. McLean in nomination, while Utah seconded Bland's nomination. It then being past midnight, the Convention adjourned.

Friday's Proceedings—Nomination of William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska.

The great building was packed to suffocation. Every one knew that the Democratic candidate for

DAVID B. HILL.
Senator from New York.

the Presidency would be named, and, although the indications pointed to the nomination of William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, the friends of the other candidates were enthusiastic, and there was no saying who the winner would prove to be.

Business opened at about 11 o'clock, and after prayer, Chairman Harrity of the Pennsylvania delegation placed Robert E. Pattison of that State in nomination for President.

Robert Mattingly of the District of Columbia seconded the nomination of the Hon. John R. McLean, who had been formally nominated by the Ohio delegation the night before. M. A. Miller of Oregon seconded the nomination of ex-Governor Pennoyer, Sr., whom he referred to as "the greatest statesman on top of the earth." These closed the formal nominations and the roll-call of the States began.

Alabama led off for Boies of Iowa, whose chances had dwindled to nothing; Arkansas came to the rescue of Bland. Two delegates from Connecticut voted for ex-governor Russell of Massachusetts, when a peremptory telegram came from Mr. Russell forbidding such vote, but the nutmeg men paid no heed and the two votes were cast for him to the end.

The first boom for Bryan came when Georgia was reached, and her 26 votes went to him, but this was speedily equalized by the 48 votes of Illinois which swung to Bland. Thus it went on to the end. Ex-Governor Flower roared out that in view of the platform adopted by this Convention, and in view of its action and methods, he obeyed instructions by declining further to participate in the selection of candidates for President and Vice-President, an announcement which was received with cheers and hisses.

The result of the first ballot was: Bland, 295;

Boies, 85; Matthews, 37; Bryan, 119; Blackburn, 83; Pattison, 95; not voting, 178. The scattering votes were: Pennoyer, the 8 votes of Oregon; Teller, the 8 votes of Colorado; Hill, 1 vote from Massachusetts; Russell, 2 from Connecticut; Campbell, 1 from California; Stevenson, 5 from Massachusetts and 2 from Minnesota; Tillman, 17 from South Carolina; McLean, 3 from Nevada, and 46 from Ohio. Total, 93.

There being no nomination, the second ballot was immediately begun. Both Bland and Bryan gained, and the gold men still refused to take part in the proceedings. The votes were: Bland, 283; Boies, 41; Matthews, 33; Bryan, 190; Blackburn, 41; Pattison, 100; not voting, 162; scattering, 80.

On the third ballot Bryan and Bland continued to gain, the former outstripping his late chief. The gold men still refused to vote, and the following was the result: Bland, 291; Boies, 36; Matthews, 34; Bryan, 219; Blackburn, 27; Pattison, 97; not voting, 162, with 64 scattering.

By this time it was apparent to every one that nothing could prevent the triumph of Bryan. Alabama, which had left him, switched back again, and the immense audience broke into cheers. A banner flashed out to view with the legend: "Bryan, Bryan! no crown of thorns, no cross of gold." The enthusiasm increased until pandemonium was again reigning when the result of the fourth ballot was announced: Bland, 241; Boies, 33; Matthews, 36; Bryan, 280; Blackburn, 27; Pattison, 97; not voting, 161; scattering, 55.

The boom for Bryan now swept resistlessly forward. Illinois abandoned Bland and took up Bryan; Kentucky did the same with Blackburn; Nevada cast her vote for "the peerless knight of the white metal;"

Tennessee abandoned Bland for Bryan; McLean of Ohio leaped upon a chair, swung his cane and shouted for Bryan, announcing that the vote of the delegation went to the man from Nebraska.

Governor Stone, the champion of Bland, saw that it was all up, and amid the wildest confusion strode to the platform, and when he could be heard, withdrew with a superb burst of eloquence, the name of Bland and paid a glowing tribute to Bryan. Judge Van Wagener of Iowa withdrew the name of Boies, and Senator Turpie of Indiana lowered the standard of Matthews.

The stampede had set in and went forward like a mountain torrent. Senator Turpie shouted:

In view of the unity which should prevail in the Convention, I move that the nomination of W. J. Bryan be made unanimous.

A thunderous shout answered, the bands began to play, cheers were renewed, delegates grasped their standards and marched around the Convention hall, the thousands in the galleries added to the terrific uproar, and the young man from Nebraska was greeted as the new Saviour of the Democratic party.

The Evening Session.

A recess was taken until 8 in the evening. The Convention again convened a few minutes before nine o'clock, but it was evident that no business was to be transacted and that the Vice-President would not be nominated until there was time to confer with Mr. Bryan and to consider carefully who would be the best man to nominate for the second place on the ticket. The shouting was now over and the time for serious preparation for the campaign had begun. After some unimportant remarks by General Bragg

and a few others, the Convention, on motion of Governor Stone, of Missouri, adjourned at 9.30 until 10 A. M. Saturday morning.

Saturday, the Last Day of the Convention.

The Democratic National Convention completed its labors on Saturday afternoon by nominating for Vice-President Arthur Sewall, of Maine, on the 5th ballot. The selection was as much of a surprise as that of Bryan for first place, but the choice will no doubt be considered a wise one, as Mr. Sewall has for many years been a leading Democrat in the only Eastern State which has shown an inclination to accept the views of the platform. It was supposed on Friday that Mr. McLean, the editor of the *Cincinnati Inquirer*, would be the nominee for Vice-President. On Saturday morning there appeared to be a strong movement for the nomination of "Silver Dick" Bland, who has been the favorite candidate for President, but Bland declined to be a candidate as did also McLean. Congressman Sibley, of Pennsylvania, and Senator Daniel, of Virginia, were also favorably considered, but evidently the Convention thought best to take a strong man from "down East." Boies also received consideration, but he was known to prefer to represent his district in Congress. While Mr. Sewall was not known to the majority of the delegates, he was known to have represented his State on the National Committee for a number of years.

On the fourth ballot McLean received 298 votes, which brought a triumphant shout from his supporters. Sewall followed with 262, an increase which foreshadowed his nomination.

A Stampede to Sewall.

While the fifth ballot was in progress McLean directed the withdrawal of his name, and, before its

close, the withdrawal was announced. This caused a stampede to Sewall, Illinois leading with 48 votes transferred from McLean. Great excitement and enthusiasm prevailed when it became apparent the nomination would go to the Maine man. The standards of the States were carried to the Maine delegation, and, after a few minutes of cheering, a procession was formed and the State guidons were carried around the hall, finally forming in line in front of the platform, where the tumult subsided. The result of the ballot was announced, showing 568 for Sewall. Eleven sound money men stuck to Harrity to the last, and the single unit, contributed by Harrity, was given Pattison.

Most of the Eastern gold men declined to take any part in the nomination for Vice-President; on all the ballots there were about 255 who declined to vote.

After providing for the appointment of the usual committees the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

Thus closed what will go on record as the most exciting and in many respects the most unusual National Convention which has met in a quarter of a century. The platform, which follows, when compared with the Republican platform, will show how clearly the issues have been drawn, and the result in November will be awaited with unusual interest by all parties.

The Democratic Platform,

Adopted at Chicago, July 9th, 1896.

OPPOSED TO THE GOLD STANDARD—FREE AND UNLIMITED COINAGE—OPPOSED TO THE ISSUE OF BONDS—THE INCOME TAX—SYMPATHY FOR THE CUBANS—OPPOSED TO A THIRD TERM.

We, the Democrats of the United States in National Convention assembled, do reaffirm our allegiance to those great essential principles of justice and liberty upon which our institutions are founded, and which the Democratic party has advocated from Jefferson's time to our own—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, the separation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, and the faithful observance of constitutional limitations.

During all these years the Democratic party has resented the tendency of selfish interests to the centralization of Governmental power, and steadfastly maintained the integrity of the dual scheme of Government established by the founders of this Republic of republics. Under its guidance and teachings the great principle of local self-government has found its best expression in the maintenance of the rights of States and in its assertion of the necessity of confining the General Government to the exercise of the powers granted by the Constitution of the United States.

The Constitution of the United States guarantees to every citizen the rights of civil and religious liberty.

The Democratic party has always been the exponent of political liberty and religious freedom, and it renews its obligations and reaffirms its devotion to these fundamental principles of the Constitution.

The Money Question.

Recognizing that the money question is paramount to all others at this time, we invite attention to the fact that the Federal Constitution names silver and gold together as the money metals of the United States, and that the first coinage law passed by Congress under the Constitution made the silver dollar the monetary unit of value and admitted gold to free coinage at a ratio based upon the silver dollar unit.

The Demonetization of Silver.

We declare that the act of 1873 demonetizing silver without the knowledge or approval of the American people, has resulted in the appreciation of gold and a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities produced by the people; a heavy increase in the burden of taxation and of all debts, public and private; the enrichment of the money-lending class at home and abroad; prostration of industry and impoverishment of the people.

Opposed to the Gold Standard.

We are unalterably opposed to monometallism, which has locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times. Gold monometallism is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London. It is not only un-American, but anti-American, and it can be fastened on the United States only by the stifling of that spirit and love of liberty which

proclaimed our political independence in 1776 and won it in the War of the Revolution.

Free and Unlimited Coinage.

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract.

We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of obligations of the United States the option reserved by law to the Government of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin.

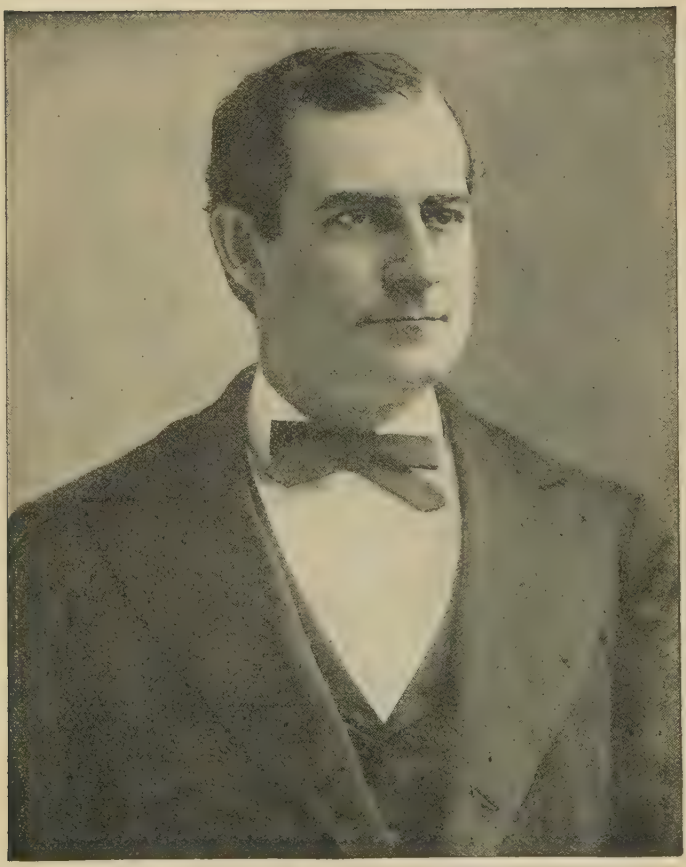
Opposed to the Issue of Bonds.

We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in time of peace and condemn the trafficking with banking syndicates, which, in exchange for bonds and at an enormous profit to themselves, supply the Federal Treasury with gold to maintain the policy of gold monometallism.

The Issue of Paper Money.

Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals.

We, therefore, denounce the issuance of notes intended to circulate as money by national banks as



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

Democratic Candidate for President.

in derogation of the Constitution, and we demand that all paper which is made a legal tender for public and private debts, or which is receivable for dues to the United States, shall be issued by the Government of the United States, and shall be redeemable in coin.

The Tariff.

We hold that tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not discriminate between class or section, and that taxation should be limited by the needs of the Government honestly and economically administered. We denounce, as disturbing to business, the Republican threat to restore the McKinley law, which has been twice condemned by the people in national elections, and which, enacted under the false plea of protection to home industry, proved a prolific breeder of trusts and monopolies, enriched the few at the expense of the many, restricted trade and deprived the producers of the great American staples of access to their natural markets. Until the money question is settled we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws, except such as are necessary to meet the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax.

The Income Tax.

But for this decision by the Supreme Court there would be no deficit in the revenue under the law passed by a Democratic Congress in strict pursuance of the uniform decisions of that court for nearly 100 years, that court having in that decision sustained constitutional objections to its enactment which had pre-

viously been overruled by the ablest judges who had ever sat on that bench. We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all the constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the court as it may hereafter be constituted, so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expenses of the Government.

Foreign Pauper Labor.

We hold that the most efficient way of protecting American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market, and that the value of the home market to our American farmers and artisans is greatly reduced by a vicious monetary system, which depresses the prices of their products below the cost of production, and thus deprives them of the means of purchasing the products of our home manufacturers, and, as labor creates the wealth of the country, we demand the passage of such laws as may be necessary to protect in all its rights.

We are in favor of the arbitration of differences between employers engaged in inter-State commerce and their employees, and recommend such legislation as is necessary to carry out this principle.

The absorption of wealth by the few, the consolidation of our leading railroad systems and the formation of trusts and pools require a stricter control by the Federal Government of those arteries of commerce. We demand the enlargement of the powers of the Inter-State Commerce Commission and such restrictions and guarantees in the control of railroads as will protect the people from robbery and oppression.

Reduction in the Number of Offices.

We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation and the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high, while the labor that pays them is unemployed, and the products of the people's toil are depressed in price till they no longer repay the cost of production. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a Democratic government, and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

Contempts in Federal Courts.

We denounce the arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States and a crime against free institutions, and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression by which Federal judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges and executioners, and we approve the bill passed by the last session of the United States Senate and now pending in the House of Representatives, relative to contempts in Federal Courts and providing trials by jury in certain cases of contempt.

The Pacific Railroad Funding Bill.

No discrimination should be indulged in by the Government of the United States in favor of any of its debtors. We approve of the refusal of the Fifty-third Congress to pass the Pacific Railroad Funding Bill, and denounce the efforts of the present Republican Congress to enact a similar measure.

The Pensioners.

Recognizing the just claims of deserving Union soldiers, we heartily endorse the rule of the present Commissioner of Pensions that no names shall be arbitrarily dropped from the pension rolls, and the fact of enlistment and service should be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

We favor the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Oklahoma and Arizona to the Union as States, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having the necessary population and resources to entitle them to Statehood, and, while they remain Territories, we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the District of Columbia and Alaska, should be *bona fide* residents of the Territory or District in which the duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule, and that all public lands of the United States should be appropriated to the establishment of free homes for American citizens.

We recommend that the Territory of Alaska be granted a Delegate in Congress, and that the general land and timber laws of the United States be extended to said Territory.

The Monroe Doctrine.

The Monroe doctrine, as originally declared and as interpreted by succeeding Presidents, is a permanent part of the foreign policy of the United States, and must at all times be maintained.

Sympathy for the Cubans.

We extend our sympathy to the people of Cuba in their heroic struggle for liberty and independence.

We are opposed to life tenure in the public service. We favor appointments based upon merit, fixed terms of office, and such an administration of the Civil Service laws as will afford equal opportunities to all citizens of ascertained fitness.

Opposed to a Third Term.

We declare it to be the unwritten law of this Republic, established by custom and usage of 100 years, and sanctioned by the examples of the greatest and wisest of those who founded and have maintained our Government, that no man should be eligible for a third term of the Presidential office.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide-water. When any waterway of the Republic is of sufficient importance to demand aid of the Government, such aid should be extended upon a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

Confiding in the justness of our cause and the necessity of its success at the polls, we submit the foregoing declaration of principles and purposes to the considerate judgment of the American people. We invite the support of all citizens who approve them and who desire to have them made effective through legislation for the relief of the people and the restoration of the country's prosperity.

Life and Public Services of William Jennings Bryan,

THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT ON A FREE SILVER PLATFORM—"THE BOY ORATOR OF THE PLATTE."

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, of Lincoln, Neb., who is sometimes known as "the Boy Orator of the Platte," is a native of Illinois. He was born in Salem, Marion County, in that State, March 19, 1860. His father, Silas L. Bryan, a native of Culpepper County, Virginia, was a prominent and respected lawyer, who represented his district for eight years in the State Senate, and later was a Circuit Court Judge for twelve years.

Early Life.

The son entered the Illinois College at Jacksonville in 1877, and completed the classical course, graduating with honors in 1881. He later attended a law school in Chicago, working in the late Lyman Trumbull's law office in order to pay his way through college. He began the practice of his profession at Jacksonville, Ill., but in 1887 he removed to Lincoln, Neb., establishing a law partnership with one of his college classmates. From his earliest years he had a fancy for public speaking, which developed his oratorical powers. In 1880 he won second prize as the representative of Illinois College in the State collegiate oratorical contest. He was valedictorian

of his college class, and came within one vote of being elected to the same position in the Law School. From 1880 on he spoke in political campaigns.

His First Political Effort.

Bryan supported J. Sterling Morton for Congress in 1888, but the man who was later to be Mr. Cleveland's Secretary of Agriculture was defeated at the polls by 3,500 votes. Next time, in 1890, Bryan took the nomination and ran against the same Republican who had so badly defeated Mr. Morton. Bryan had much better luck. He challenged his adversary to a series of joint debates, and made so brilliant a showing that he carried the district, which had given the Republicans 3,500 majority two years before, by a majority of 6,700 votes. The fame he gained in the joint debates, of which the tariff was the theme, induced Speaker Crisp to appoint Bryan on the Ways and Means Committee, an honor which few Congressmen have ever won during their first term in the House. On March 12, 1892, he scored his first great oratorical success with a speech on free wool. This deliverance led Mr. Kilgore to declare it the best speech made on the floor of the House for ten years, and Mr. Culberson to remark that it was one of the ablest addresses he had ever listened to, and Mr. Lane to say that it stamped its author as one of the brightest and ablest men in Congress.

Against the Repeal of the Silver Purchase Act.

The reapportionment of 1891 divided Bryan's Congressional District in such a way that it made his canvass in 1892 very difficult. The district was admittedly Republican by a majority of more than 3,000. Bryan went into the work heart and soul, however, and turned the Republican majority into

a Democratic plurality of 146. J. Sterling Morton ran for Governor of Nebraska in that election, and received fewer votes than any man on the ticket in that district, just half as many as Bryan. In August, 1893, when the bill to repeal the Silver Purchase Act was before Congress, Bryan again distinguished himself as a speech-maker. It was said at the time that he made the best showing in the debate of any of the free-silver leaders. Bryan had long consorted with the Populists, and that explained his great power over the farmers. In the fall of 1893 he got the Senatorial bee in his bonnet, and aimed to "wallop" Secretary Morton and the Administration Democrats in the State Convention. The convention, however, endorsed the Administration four to one, and refused to give any recognition either to Bryan or his silver vagaries. The platform contained a cordial expression of confidence in Mr. Cleveland, despite Bryan's agile efforts to have the convention pursue another course. The convention declared:

We, the representatives of the Democratic party in Nebraska, in State Convention assembled, send hearty greetings to our President, Grover Cleveland, and renew the expression of our confidence and pride in his patriotism, courage, and wisdom. We heartily endorse the Administration of President Cleveland. We reaffirm the truths so forcibly set forth by the President in his message to the special session of Congress. We favor his recommendation to Congress therein made for the repeal of the Silver Purchase clause of the Sherman Act, and we call upon the United States Senators to speedily pass the pending bill for the prompt and unconditional repeal of that vicious law.

Before the election of 1894 Mr. Bryan refused a renomination for Congress, continuing his campaign for the Senatorship as the successor of Mr. Manderson. He still openly declared for free silver coinage and this caused the Morton Democrats to fight him

ARTHUR SEWALL.

Democratic Candidate for Vice-President.

bitterly. He was, however, nominated by the State Democratic Convention. Two joint debates, at Lincoln and at Omaha, respectively, with John M. Thurston, the Republican candidate for the Senatorship, attracted much attention. The Legislature, however, was Republican, and Mr. Thurston was elected. During the past two years, since his defeat for the Senate, Bryan has been lecturing on financial topics in all parts of the country.

His Personality.

He is a man of considerable personal magnetism and fine presence. The resemblance between him and the late Samuel J. Randall has been remarked by many. He is about 5 feet 10 inches in height, weights 180 pounds, and has dark hair and dark eyes. His jaw is heavy and square, and he is smooth shaven. His cheekbones are prominent and his forehead square.

He is an exceedingly pleasant talker, and is fond of dealing in well-rounded phrases. His speeches abound with poetry. He is of Irish extraction, but his people have lived in this country for more than a hundred years. In religion he is a Presbyterian, but believes in the entire separation of Church and State. He steadfastly opposes bringing religion into politics or politics into religion. He is a teetotaler.

Mr. Bryan is the outspoken enemy of class legislation, and believes that the Government has fully answered its purpose when it protects every citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and leaves him just as free as possible to exercise his ability, industry and economy. He is also a believer in local self-government, and was emphatically opposed to the Federal election law be-

cause it sought to take away from the locality the control of Congressional elections.

He favors free coinage and believes in a tariff for revenue only, and denies the right of Government to take from any man by means of taxation any money not needed for Government expenses, or to tax one man to enrich another. He is opposed to bounties and subsidies. He made his main fight against the McKinley Bill, denouncing it as the most infamous conspiracy ever attempted against the consumers of this country.

Mr. and Mrs. Bryan at Home.

Mr. Bryan's wife, who has been a close figure in all his public life, cannot go unmentioned. She was Miss Mary E. Baird, and was the only daughter of a prosperous merchant in Perry, Ill. She has a pure, handsome, thoroughbred face, and is withal a woman of rare mental endowments.

After the birth of her first child Mrs. Bryan began the study of law, with her husband as instructor, taking one course prescribed by the college from which he graduated. She was admitted to the bar in 1888. She never thought to practice. Her only motive was to aid her husband in his life work, and she might be safely credited with at least half of all there is good and honest and successful in the Nebraska man.

Mr. Bryan lives well in a commodious dwelling in the fashionable part of Lincoln. The study in which both Mr. and Mrs. Bryan have desks is a very attractive room. It is filled with books, statuary and mementoes of campaigns. There are busts or portraits of noted men, and there are two butcher knives which Mr. Bryan used in the campaign with Judge Field, to refute the latter's boasts of the effects of high protection.

Mrs. Bryan has a great liking for politics, and accompanies her husband on many of his Nebraska jaunts. Her tastes are essentially literary and she has written much for various causes. She is a charming woman, and is as great a favorite in Lincoln as her husband. She was one of the organizers of Sorosis, the leading woman's club of Lincoln, and is also a member of the W. C. T. U. and other societies. Mr. Bryan says she is invaluable to him in suggestions and the preparation of material and in advice as to points and methods. His family consists, besides Mrs. Bryan, of Ruth, aged eleven; William J., Jr., aged six, and Grace, aged five. The children are very bright, pretty and well-bred.

Bryan in personal appearance is the picture of health, mental, moral, and physical. He is a pronounced brunette, has a massive head, a clean-shaven face, an aquiline nose, square chin, a broad chest, large lustrous dark eyes, a mouth extending almost from ear to ear, teeth as white as chalk, and hair—what there is left of it—black as midnight. Beneath his eyes is the protuberant flesh which physiognomists say is indicative of fluency of language and which was one of the most striking features in the face of James G. Blaine.

Bryan as an Orator.

An enthusiastic admirer of Bryan as an orator has written of him as follows:—

Bryan neglects none of the accessories of oratory. Nature richly endowed him with rare grace. He is happy in attitude and pose. His gestures are on Hogarth's line of beauty. Mellifluous is the one word that most aptly describes his voice. It is strong enough to be heard by thousands. It is sweet enough to charm those the least inclined to music. It is so modulated as not to vex the ear with monotony and can be stern and pathetic, fierce or

gentle, serious or humorous, with the varying emotions of its master. In his youth Bryan must have had a skillful teacher in elocution and must have been a docile pupil. He adorns his speeches with illustrations from the classics or from the common occurrences of everyday life with equal felicity and facility. Some passages from his orations are gems and are being used as declamations by boys at school—the ultimate tribute to American eloquence.

Extracts from His Speeches.

The following extracts from some of Mr. Bryan's speeches in Congress have been much quoted by campaign orators, and did much to establish his fame as one of the leading exponents of the income tax and free silver theory. They show how close his approach is to Populism.

The poor man who takes property by force (Bryan said, in one of his silver-tongued deliverances) is called a thief, but the creditor who can by legislation make a debtor pay a dollar twice as large as he borrowed is lauded as the friend of a sound currency. The man who wants people to destroy the Government is an Anarchist, but the man who wants the Government to destroy the people is a patriot.

Again this young orator said:—

The gentlemen who are so fearful of socialism when the poor are exempted from an income tax, view with indifference those methods of taxation which give the rich a substantial exemption. They weep more because $15,000,000 is to be collected from the incomes of the rich than they do at the collection of $300,000,000 upon the goods which the poor consume. And when an attempt is made to equalize these burdens, not fully, but partially only, the people of the South and West are called Anarchists. I deny the accusation, sir. It is among the people of the South and West, on the prairies and in the mountains, that you find the staunchest supporters of government, and the best friends of law and order.

You may not find among these people the great fortunes

which are accumulated in cities, nor will you find the dark shadows which these fortunes throw over the community, but you will find those willing to protect the rights of property, even while they demand that property shall bear its share of taxation. You may not find among them as much of wealth, but you will find men who are not only willing to pay their taxes to support the Government, but are willing whenever necessary to offer up their lives in its defence. These people, sir, whom you call Anarchists because they ask that the burdens of government shall be equally borne. these people have ever borne the cross on Calvary and saved their country with their blood.

I may be in error (said Bryan on another occasion), but in my humble judgment he who would rob man of his necessary food or pollute the springs at which he quenches his thirst, or steal away from him his accustomed rest, or condemn his mind to the gloomy night of ignorance, is no more an enemy of his race than the man who, deaf to the entreaties of the poor and blind, to the suffering he would cause, seeks to destroy one of the money metals given by the Almighty to supply the needs of commerce.

In the Convention at Chicago Mr. Bryan led the Nebraska silver delegation. There were two contesting delegations from the State. The National Committee reported in favor of the gold men, but when the matter was referred to the Credentials Committee the latter at once reported in favor of the delegates led by Mr. Bryan. The motion to adopt the report in the Convention was declared carried by a *viva voce* vote, a demand for a roll-call, which was at first made by ex-Governor Russell, being withdrawn on the statement of the Chairman of the Credentials Committee that the report was unanimous. The gold delegation then retired to a march tune by the band, and the silver squad under Bryan's lead was admitted to the Convention.

Life and Public Services of Arthur Sewall,

THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT—HE COMES OF AN ANCIENT SHIP-BUILDING FAMILY IN MAINE—ONE OF HIS SONS, HAROLD, IS A STRONG REPUBLICAN.

THE Vice-Presidential nominee is a man very nearly twice as old as the head of the ticket. He is much older than he looks. He is a splendid example of physical manhood, carries himself with a soldierly bearing, and is what might be termed a fine-looking man.

A Splendid Example of Physical Manhood.

His hair and mustache are slightly tinged with gray, but the wrinkles of age have scarcely made their appearance on his face.

Arthur Sewall was born at Bath, Me., November 25, 1835. He has been a life-long Democrat, and has been Chairman of the Maine Democratic State Committee for many years. His residence is the Sewall estate in Bath, which has been in the possession of the Sewall family since 1763, when his great-grandfather took title only three removes from a grant by King George. Mr. Sewall married in 1859. His wife was Emma D. Crooker, of Bath. There are two children—Harold M. and William D. Harold was appointed during Mr. Cleveland's first administration United States Consul General at Samoa, but has since gone over to the Republican party. Mr. Sewall has been engaged most of his

life in ship-building and ship-owning. In the old days he built wooden whalers and coasters, for which the State of Maine was famous. The firm has been Sewall & Son for three generations. Mr. Sewall is president and principal owner of the Bath National Bank. He was president for nine years of the Maine Central Railway, which is the railroad system of that State. He resigned the latter position two years ago. He was at one time president of the Eastern Railroad, but has still quite considerable interests in railroads and in railroad building.

He is now president of a bank at Bath, is interested in the Bath Iron Works and a member of other commercial enterprises.

A Ship-building Family.

Steadily for over seventy years has the Sewall private signal, a white "S" on a blue ground, fluttered from the main spar of some of the staunchest, finest, swiftest vessels in the American merchant marine, carrying the stars and stripes into every foreign port.

From the days of the first chubby little Diana, built in 1823, to the great steel Dirigo, launched in 1894, this house has been in the van with designs for merchant vessels. Beginning under William D. Sewall in 1823, the house has been continuous, and to-day it owns the largest sailing merchantmen afloat under our flag.

William D. Sewall was succeeded by his sons, under the name of E. & A. Sewall, which firm has since become Arthur Sewall & Co., with Arthur Sewall, the Democratic nominee for Vice-President, at its head, and his nephew, Samuel S. Sewall, and one of his sons, William D. Sewall, associated with him.

The first American Sewall came to America in 1634, and Dummes Sewall, the grandfather of the

first ship-builder, went to Bath from New York, which was also in the District of Maine in 1762, where he purchased the tract of land on which to this day stands the Sewall yard and the houses of the Sewall family.

In the seventy-one years that the Sewalls have been building ships, they have owned ninety-five vessels. Arthur Sewall, the present head of the firm, and the Vice-Presidential nominee, grew up among the scenes of the shipyard and seashore, acquiring a familiarity with the business life which has served him well, not only in that particular branch, but in many other lines of mercantile life.

There is hardly a corporation in Sagadahock County in which he is not interested.

His Son a Republican.

A striking fact in connection with Mr. Sewall's nomination is that his son Harold is a Republican, having changed from the Democracy as a result of what he considered the party's failure in administration. Young Sewall was one of the leaders of the Reed delegation at St. Louis and is one of the leaders of the "Young Republican" movement in Maine.

This Harold Sewall was also the first Consul-General of the United States to Samoan Islands, and his name will always be mentioned in connection with the late history of Samoa. He was born in Bath in 1860. Having been fitted for college in the public schools of his native town, he entered Harvard University in 1878. In 1882 he graduated with high honors, and immediately thereafter entered the Harvard law school, where he completed the full three years' course and received the degree of LL. B.

In the Fall of 1885 he was nominated by Consul Russell, at Liverpool, as Vice and Deputy Consul,

THOMAS E. WATSON.

and was commissioned by the State department accordingly, holding the office until March 27, 1887, when he resigned to accept that of Consul-General of Apia, Samoa.

Harold Sewall came into national prominence in this position. The affairs in Samoa at that time were very complicated. Germany wanted to exercise a protectorate over the islands, which would have resulted in her annexing the best of them. England and the United States wanted a native government—"Samoa for the Samoans," with King Malitoea as ruler. The Germans, however, had encouraged "King" Tamesese, and the United States Consul at that time at Apia was recalled as unfit to deal with such a complication.

Harold Sewall soon attracted attention by his official course. He was finally summoned to Washington by Secretary Bayard, and frequently appeared before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. He testified so freely and fully before that committee that Secretary Bayard requested his resignation on the ground that his openly expressed views on Samoan affairs did not agree with those of the State Department. His resignation was tendered and accepted.

How it Feels to be a Nominee.

According to his own assertion, the Hon. Arthur Sewall had no idea when he left his home at Bath, Me., that his name would even be presented to the late National Convention for the second place on the ticket.

"It was wholly unexpected," he said. "I had no thought of such a thing when I came to this Convention. However, I must confess that the sensation of being the Vice-Presidential nominee on the National ticket of the Democratic party is decidedly pleasant."

As soon as it became known that Mr. Sewall had been

nominated there was a rush of friends and admiring Democrats to extend their congratulations to the "next Vice-President," as nearly every one of them expressed it.

During the afternoon Mr. Sewall received hundreds of telegrams from all parts of the country expressing the congratulation of friends.

Mr. Sewall expressed the belief that the ticket would be a great deal stronger throughout New England and the Eastern States than the Western friends of free silver realize at present.

Thinks he will Carry Maine.

"As to my own State," he continued, "the cause of free silver is growing rapidly. Two years ago I could count on my fingers the Democrats in Maine who favored the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Now the vast majority of them are of that belief, and their numbers are increasing every day. I anticipate a lively campaign this Autumn in Maine, and I feel assured that the results will be flattering indeed. It is not impossible for the Democrats to carry the State. They did it in 1880, and I see no reason why they should not do it this Fall.

"I have great confidence in the success of the ticket throughout the country. I heartily believe in the principles of the platform, and will do everything in my power for the success and victory of Democracy."

Mr. Sewall was present in the Convention during the first four ballots for the Vice-Presidential nomination. He left the hall at the beginning of the fifth ballot and was on the platform of the railway station, waiting for a train into the city, when word was taken to him of the result. He went immediately to his rooms in the Palmer House, where he was seen after the adjournment of the Convention by a representative of the United Press.

The National Convention of the Populist Party.

Convened at St. Louis, July 22d, 1896.

FOUR DAYS' STORMY PROCEEDINGS—RESULTING IN THE NOMINATION OF BRYAN, THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE, FOR PRESIDENT, AND THOMAS E. WATSON FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

On July 22d the attention of the whole country was directed to St. Louis, where, in the same hall recently occupied by the Republican Convention, the Convention of the People's Party assembled. Never before has so much interest and importance attached to a convention of that party.

The main interest centered in whether the "Populists" would endorse or nominate Bryan and Sewall, the Democratic candidates, or would name a separate ticket of their own. As has been seen, the Democrats who controlled the convention in Chicago made their platform and named their candidates with a view to securing the endorsement of the Populists. It was thought with their support enough Western States could be carried to insure the election of the Democratic candidates.

Middle-of-the-Road Men.

It was evident, however, the first day that it would be no easy task to control the over 1,300 delegates, assembled as the representatives of the Populist party, in the interest of one of the "old parties"

which the Populists had been denouncing for years. The Southern delegates, especially, had grievances against the Democrats. They had been taunted and ridiculed and cheated by them in their home districts and nothing would now induce them, not even the cause of silver, to support the Democratic ticket. They were for keeping in the "middle-of-the-road" as they expressed it and make their own platform and name their own ticket, thus preserving their own party organization. Texas, with its large delegation, gave special strength to this side. On the other hand, Senator Jones, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, was on the ground using all his influence, with the aid of the active silver advocates, to secure the endorsement of Bryan and Sewall.

It was nearly 1 o'clock before the Convention was called to order by Mr. Taubeneck, Chairman of the National Committee. Governor William J. Stone, of Missouri, delivered an address of welcome. Hon. Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota, responded to Governor Stone's address.

Temporary Chairman Butler.

Chairman Taubeneck introduced as Temporary Chairman of the Convention Senator Marion Butler, of North Carolina.

He said the parties that had had charge of the Government since the war had succeeded in bringing the nation to the verge of bankruptcy and ruin, and had necessitated the existence of the Populist organization. The two parties had vied with each other in "straddling," and now "straddling" was a thing of the past. He went on to speak of the transportation question as standing side by side with the money question, and declared that both these great questions

would have to be solved before the country got back to prosperity.

"Remember that you have accomplished more in four years than the old parties have accomplished in a hundred years. And remember, too, that if we do our duty at this trying hour the time is not far distant when we will be the majority party of the country."

Owing to the heat a large proportion of the delegates removed their coats and vests and attached their badges to their suspenders.

Mrs. J. S. Coxey, wife of the "ex-general" of the Commonweal Army, had a seat in the Populist Convention with the Ohio delegation. With her was the "General's" youngest child, Legal Tender Coxey. Mrs. Carl Browne was also present.

There was no evening session on account of the electric lights being turned off. The general impression at the close of the first day was that Bryan would be nominated, but that there was no hope of pulling Sewall through.

Eugene V. Debs and Ignatius Donnelly were talked of for Presidential candidates by those who favored a separate ticket. There was much talk of a bolt in case Bryan and Sewall were nominated.

The Test of Strength Comes on the Second Day.

The Populists began to assemble in good time for the morning session. They were men accustomed to early hours, and they liked to get together to discuss the political and financial questions of the hour. The immediate and uppermost question in all their minds was, "Shall the Convention keep to the middle of the road, making its own platform and choosing its own candidates for President and Vice-President; shall it endorse or nominate the Democratic nominees, or shall it take the middle course—endorse Bryan, nom-

inate a Southern Populist for Vice-President, and patch up some sort of terms by which that arrangement can be made practicable and successful?"

Each plan had its own faction, determined to carry out its own plan, and to oppose any other plan, even to the extreme point of "bolting" if the other plan was adopted.

Among the conspicuous persons on the platform was Mr. Jesse Harper of Kansas, who is said to have nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency at Chicago in 1860. Senator Stewart of Nevada was also on the platform, seated between Senators Allen of Nebraska and Kyle of South Dakota, all of them strong advocates of the endorsement of Bryan and Sewall.

Coats and Vests Laid Aside.

At ten minutes past 10 Senator Butler of North Carolina, the temporary Chairman, called the Convention to order. At that time the body of the hall was about two-thirds full, and there were probably not 200 persons in the galleries. The Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms set the example of laying aside coats and vests and moving around in shirt sleeves. Many of the delegates adopted a like costume. There were several women seated among the delegates. The Rev. Mr. Smith was selected to "lead in prayer," and he offered a short petition for "the blessing of the Almighty God on this Convention, on its members and on its proceedings. May harmony, unity, fraternity and patriotism characterize all its proceedings today."

The day was consumed, amid much confusion, in deciding upon the credentials of contesting delegates. The test of strength came in voting for Permanent Chairman.

The Convention at 7.15 began to vote by States

on the adoption of the majority report (Allen for Permanent Chairman), the utmost confusion prevailing.

Late twilight had come when the Convention proceeded to call the States, and, with the prevalent turmoil and uproar, that was a slow process.

The vote was announced at 8.05 P. M. as: For Allen, 758; for Campion, 564; for Donnelly, 1.

As soon as the vote was announced the Bryan enthusiasm in the Convention broke out into a wild shout of triumph, delegates standing up and vociferating and waving hats and fans, and again a procession of guidon-bearers took up the march through the Convention hall, yelling demoniacally. The band took part in the performance with the strains of "Hail Columbia" and other patriotic airs. This Bedlamite uproar, which even the singing of the doxology by a score of enthusiasts did not affect, lasted over ten minutes, and did not cease until after there were shouts for the police, caused by a dispute about seats among the members of the Illinois delegation.

Finally, at 8.20, some degree of order was restored, when Mr. Watkins of California stepped to the platform and said that the Campion men (of whom he was one) had fought a grand fight and had been squarely whipped, and now he moved to make the nomination of Senator Allen unanimous. The motion was adopted with a whoop.

Senator Allen Speaks.

Senator Allen was escorted to the chair by Lafe Pence, "Cyclone" Davis, and Ignatius Donnelly, and was greeted with cheers. He then addressed the Convention. He returned thanks to the Convention for the marks of its confidence and esteem. He said that: "During and after the Rebellion the gold power of Europe, aided by its agents in the United States,

had fastened the chains of industrial slavery on the people of the United States, which it would take almost a generation to strike off. It was a part of the mission of Populism to free the people from sectional prejudices. If any suspicion existed anywhere that there would be a bolt in the Convention, it was a great mistake. [Applause.] Every delegation, from Maine to Texas, would bow to the will of the Convention. [Applause.] He had no doubt that there was a hope in Wall street that this great Convention would split to pieces and that the People's party would be absorbed in the Republican party."

"I am not advocating," Senator Allen continued, "any choice for you to make. If, by putting a third ticket in the field, you would defeat free coinage; defeat the withdrawal of national bank notes; defeat Government ownership of railroads and telegraphs; defeat the income tax and fasten on the people gold monometallism and high taxes for ten years to come, would you do it?" [A voice—"Bryan."]

"It is your choice to make—not mine. When I go back to Nebraska I want to be able to say that all of those great doctrines which we have preached for years are now made possible by your action. [Applause.] I do not want to have to say that the Populist party was stupid—was blind; kept in the middle-of-the-road and missed its opportunity." [Cheers.]

Senator Allen then expressed the opinion that he had entertained the Convention sufficiently, and asked: "What is your pleasure?"

The report of the Committee on Rules was then (10 P. M.) presented and read, but without action on it, the Convention, at eight minutes past ten, adjourned until next morning at 10 o'clock.

The Convention Settles Down to Business on the Third Day.

The Convention was called to order by Senator Allen, Permanent Chairman, at five minutes after 10 o'clock.

A gavel, constructed in the State of Ohio out of forty-eight different kinds of timber, representing every State, was presented to the Chairman by Delegate Denoe, of Ohio, as a "Middle-of-the-Road" gavel, and it was accepted by the Chairman. During this presentation ceremony a couple of fantastically attired individuals ascended the platform. They were dressed to represent the characters of Uncle Sam and Columbia.

Uncle Sam was represented by a pretty well known character from Staten Island, named Lloyd, and Columbia is the "Sweet Singer of Arkansas," who entertained the Convention yesterday with a song—Mrs. Pennington by name. This pair of eccentricities were introduced to the Convention by the Chairman as a "couple of important characters." They made their bow and "The Sweet Singer of Arkansas" immediately broke out into a song, composed for the occasion and sung to an air something between "Auld Lang Syne" and "John Anderson, My Jo John."

Reversal of the Order of Nominations.

The report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business was taken up for action. The majority report had been read last night. The minority report was now read, the point of it being that nominations for Vice President shall be made prior to nominations for President. The majority report was explained by Delegate Pomeroy, of New Jersey, a member of the Committee on Rules.

When that portion of the rules was reached which

provided for a reversal of the order of nominating President and Vice-President, "Cyclone" Davis took the stand, and said he believed he could now point the way to a haven of peace. He had received pledges from the States of Nevada and Illinois, in addition to the States of Kansas and Nebraska, that if the Convention proceeded in regular order they would sustain the middle-of-the-road candidate for Vice-President. He, for his part, was willing to trust their good faith and to withdraw all obstruction.

A delegate from Minnesota added to these pledges "the almost unanimous support" of Minnesota's fifty-three delegates. But the Convention was not in the humor to accept the olive branch of peace. Fifty men addressed the chair at once, and when the Chairman declared that the previous question had been ordered, Mr. Crandall, of New Jersey, advanced to the platform, and, shaking his fist, said he was a delegate, and he proposed to be heard. He was howled down, notwithstanding.

Minority Report Adopted.

A scene of great confusion ensued, which delayed the proceedings some time. An informal count showed the vote to be: For the minority report, 730; for the majority report, 766.

Before the result was announced Mr. Skinner changed the vote of North Carolina, casting the whole 95 votes for the minority report, which was thus adopted.

The official total being: For the minority, 785; for the majority report, 615.

The Platform.

General Weaver, of Iowa, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions and Platform, took the stand at

5 minutes past 3 to read the platform and resolutions which had been agreed to, he said, with great unanimity, but not with entire unanimity, as minority reports would be presented by Mr. Kearby, of Texas, and Mr. Coxey, of Ohio. He read the platform and resolutions.

Mr. J. S. Coxey, of Ohio (of Coxey Army fame), as representing the minority of the Committee on Platform, read other propositions to be added to the platform, among them being these: Non-interest-bearing bonds, good roads, extension of suffrage to women, and the ownership and control by the Government of every industry necessary to the welfare of the community.

After a number of amendments were presented and discussed, during which one delegate had to be forcibly silenced, the platform was adopted as presented in the majority report and as printed in another place in this volume.

Soon after the Convention adjourned until 6 P. M.

Hon. Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, for Vice-President.

During the evening session quite a number of nominations were made for Vice-President. Among those presented were Mann Page, of Virginia, President of the National Farmers' Alliance, and Mr. Skinner, Congressman from North Carolina.

Representative Howard, of Alabama, placed in nomination Hon. Thomas E. Watson, the late Populist Congressman from Georgia.

Mr. A. A. Gunby, who spoke for Louisiana, said neither of the old parties had dared since the war to put a Southern man on the ticket, but it was reserved to this great party to take this forward step. He could not understand, he said, the policy which had put forward a bank President to put down national

banks, a corporationist to put down corporations and a railroad magnate to put down railroad corporations and monopolies. [Laughter and cheers.] The man he named could stand on the platform with both feet, and he simply wanted to say of him that if the Democratic party swallowed Tom Watson it would have more brains and honesty in its stomach than it had ever had before. [Loud and long continued cheers.]

Bland and Jones on the Platform.

During the delivery of the speech Mr. Bland, of Missouri, the defeated aspirant for the Democratic Presidential nomination, came to the platform and was introduced to the Chairman by Senator Stewart, and soon afterwards he was followed by Senator Jones, of Nevada, who took a seat beside him.

Pence Speaks for Sewall.

Colorado, being called, yielded to Mr. Lafe Pence, now of New York, formerly a Congressman of Colorado, who began by saying:

Mr. President, in order to draw the poison quickly and have it out, let me say my purpose is to give some reason, or try to give some reason, why we should nominate Mr. Arthur Sewall, of Maine, for Vice-President.

This announcement was received with great applause, followed by hisses.

"Mr. Sewall's standing, personally, amounts to nothing, as far as I am concerned. I never saw him. I never met him, and I never expect or care to meet him. If I were following my own heart to-night I would go either for Harry Skinner, of North Carolina, or Tom Watson, of Georgia. [Cheers.] But I would rather see the chance of beating McKinley and the gold standard than see either Mr. Skinner or Mr. Watson, or my good friend Page, of Virginia, Vice-President of the United States.

"But if we nominate either of them, Mr. McKinley would surely be elected and I for one am here prompted by no other motive than to defeat the Republicans. It is a pity, a great pity, that we are in this dilemma.

Would All Like to be Bankers.

"You speak of Mr. Sewall as a millionaire. Whose picture is this? (turning round and pointing to the portrait of Peter Cooper). A millionaire. Thank God, a millionaire who was willing to spend his money in a righteous fight. You say that Mr. Sewall is a banker? Confidentially, none of us are bankers, but, confidentially, we would all like to be. [Applause and laughter.] The hero whom we look upon now as a martyr in our cause, William P. St. John, of New York, was a banker till a month ago. So that these are mere pretences."

Mr. Pence close his speech with the declamation of the verse:

"There are ninety and nine who live and die
In want and hunger and cold,
That one may live in luxury and lie
Wrapped in its silken fold,
The ninety and nine in their hovels bare,
The one in luxury rich and rare.
They toil in the fields, the ninety and nine;
For the fruits of our mother earth
They dig and delve in the dangerous mine
To bring its treasures forth.
But the wealth released by these sturdy blows
To the hands of the one forever flows."

A Protest.

Delegate L. C. Bateman, of Maine, responded when his State was called, and protested solemnly against the nomination of Mr. Sewall for Vice-President. The statement that Mr. Sewall was formerly a Greenbacker he denounced as absolutely false. Mr. Sewall had not one particle of sympathy with the People's party except as to the one item of silver, which was the least among the Populist demands.

Mr. Sewall had been President of the Maine Central Railroad, and in the last year of his presidency the wages of the railroad men in that company were cut down 10 per cent. A comparison of Sewall with Peter Cooper was an insult to the immortal dead.

He appealed to the Convention not to force that bitter chalice to the lips of the Populists of Maine.

Would Not Support Sewall.

Mr. Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota, one of the leaders of this Convention, was the next speaker. On behalf of his State he seconded the nomination of Mr. Watson of Georgia. He had supposed it was agreed to unanimously that the second place on the ticket should be given to a Southern man. The People's party could not sustain the candidacy of Arthur Sewall of Maine. It was simply impossible. If he were to go home and tell the Populists of Minnesota that this Convention had nominated to the Vice-Presidency a man worth $6,000,000, the President of a national bank and connected with ten other national banks, an officer of one of the railroads of New England, and interested in half the railroads of New England, the Populists of Minnesota would say that rather than vote for such a man they would see all the Democrats in the country 500 miles below the lowest pit of hell. It could not be done.

It was past midnight when the ballot was taken. Watson had 541 votes at the end of the first call. Texas and Tennessee changed, giving him 721 votes. Necessary to a choice, 699.

Just as Watson was declared nominated the electric lights went out, leaving the hall in darkness, while pandemonium reigned.

At 12.50 the Convention adjourned until 9 A. M.

The Closing Day. Bryan Nominated.

Although several nominations were made, everybody knew that Bryan would be nominated. It was not accomplished, however, until much time was spent in speech-making, and then against the bitter opposi-

tion of 321 delegates, most of whom voted for S. Frank Norton of Chicago.

Following the course of the opponents of Bryan in the Chicago Convention, his opponents here refused to make his nomination unanimous. They threatened to make another nomination for President.

As Sewall was rejected and Watson nominated, the question is, What will Bryan do?

It is hardly probable that Bryan will decline the nomination. It is true that in answer to a telegram sent to him by Chairman Jones, of the Democratic National Committee, advising Bryan to decline if Sewall were not also nominated, Bryan replied:

"I entirely agree with you. Withdraw my name if Sewall is not nominated."

But that was before the nomination of a Vice-President and may have been for effect.

Bryan Nominated by the Former Candidate of the Greenback Party for President.

When Alabama was called, Governor Kolb yielded to General Weaver, of Iowa. General Weaver came forward and formally placed Mr. Bryan in nomination. He said:

"There is a tide in the affairs of men, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune; omitted, all the voyage of their life is bound in shallows and in miseries." And then in dramatic climax he exclaimed: "On such a full sea are we now afloat. And we must take the current when it serves or lose our ventures."

Silver the Real Issue.

"We cannot mistake the real issue in the struggle at present. It is between the gold standard, gold bond and bank currency, on the one hand, and the bimetallic standard, no bonds and Government currency, on the other. The people are asked to choose between enforced idleness, destitution, debt, bankruptcy and despair and an open door of opportunity under just laws and normal conditions. The situation presents the mightiest civic question that

ever convulsed a civilized nation. In the name of the suffering people, I affirm that this is no time for dissensions or party divisions. The supreme hour for action has arrived. If we would be victorious, we must make common cause with the heroic men who dominated the Chicago convention. No other course is prudent or desirable.

"We are not asked to abandon our party, nor would it be wise to do so. If it is to be preserved, we will, in my judgment, be compelled to take the course which I am about to indicate. The silver Democrats have lined up as an organization. Now let Populists, free silver Republicans and the American Silver party do likewise. Form an embattled square, impenetrable to the assaults of the confederated gold power.

"After due consideration, in which I have fully canvassed every possible phase of the subject, I have failed to find a single good reason to justify us in placing a third ticket in the field.

"Therefore, in obedience to my highest conception of duty, with a solemn conviction that I am right, I place in nomination for the Presidency of the United States a distinguished gentleman, who, let it be remembered, has already been three times indorsed by the Populist party of his own State, once for representative in Congress, once for United States Senator, and only last week for the Presidency. I name that matchless champion of the people, that intrepid foe of the corporate greed, that splendid young statesman, William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska."

At the mention of Mr. Bryan's name the convention went wild. Through one of the side entrances, four men carried a big yellow cross, surmounted by a crown of thorns. On it were inscribed the words with which Bryan closed his speech at Chicago: "You shall not press a crown of thorns upon the brow of labor, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

Nominated on First Ballot.

The roll-call was then ordered. As it proceeded it became apparent that Bryan would be nominated before it was completed.

Pennsylvania's thirty-five votes for Bryan gave him 730, thirty more than a majority, but the roll of States was continued.

With uplifted gavel Chairman Allen asked if any States had not voted. Two tally clerks had been at work figuring the totals. Without further delay he then announced the official vote as: Bryan, 1042; Norton, 321; Donnelly, 1.

It was then 4.22 P. M. Bedlam was, of course, let loose. Pandemonium reigned for fifteen or twenty minutes.

The "middle-of-the-road" men finally massed about their standard on the left of the hall. About 300 in number, they made a counter-demonstration. They cheered and yelled and pushed and fought for ten minutes. The sergeant-at-arms was powerless to restore order, and after rapping for five minutes Chairman Allen declared Mr. Bryan the nominee of the Convention.

He then declared the Convention adjourned *sine die.*

The Platform of the Populist Party.

Adopted at St. Louis, July 24th, 1896.

THE People's party, assembled in National Convention, reaffirms its allegiance to the principles declared by the founders of the Republic, and also to the fundamental principles of just government as enunciated in the platform of the party in 1892. We recognize that, through the connivance of the present and preceding Administrations, the country has reached a crisis in its national life as predicted in our declaration four years ago, and that prompt and patriotic action is the supreme duty of the hour. We realize that, while we have political independence, our financial and industrial independence is yet to be attained by restoring to our country the constitutional control and exercise of the functions necessary to a people's government, which functions have been basely surrendered by our public servant to corporate monopolies. The influence of European money changers has been more potent in shaping legislation than the voice of the American people. Executive power and patronage have been used to corrupt our Legislatures and defeat the will of the people, and plutocracy has thereby been enthroned upon the ruins of Democracy. To restore the Government intended by the fathers and for the welfare and prosperity of this and future generations, we demand the establishment of an economic and financial system which shall make us masters of our own affairs and independent of European control by the adoption of the following

Declaration of Principles.

First. We demand a national money, safe and sound, issued by the General Government only, without the intervention of banks of issue, to be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private; a just, equitable and efficient means of distribution direct to the people and through the lawful disbursements of the Government.

Second. We demand the free and unrestricted coinage of silver and gold at the present ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the consent of foreign nations.

Third. We demand the volume of circulating medium be speedily increased to an amount sufficient to meet the demands of the business and population and to restore the just level of prices of labor and production.

Sale of Bonds.

Fourth. We denounce the sale of bonds and the increase of the public interest-bearing debt made by the present Administration as unnecessary and without authority of law, and demand that no more bonds be issued except by specific act of Congress.

Fifth. We demand such legislation as will prevent the demonetization of the lawful money of the United States by private contract.

Sixth. We demand that the Government, in payment of its obligations, shall use its option as to the kind of lawful money in which they are to be paid, and we denounce the present and preceding Administrations for surrendering this option to the holders of Government obligations.

A Graduated Income Tax.

Seventh. We demand a graduated income tax to the end that aggregated wealth shall bear its just proportion of taxation, and we regard the recent decision of the Supreme Court relative to the Income Tax law as a misinterpretation of the Constitution and an invasion of the rightful powers of Congress over the subject of taxation.

Eighth. We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

Transportation.

First. Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people and on a non-partisan basis, to the end that all may be accorded the same treatment in transportation and that the tyranny and political power now exercised by the great railroad corporations, which result in the impairment if not the destruction of the political rights and personal liberties of the citizen, may be destroyed. Such ownership is to be accomplished gradually, in a manner consistent with sound public policy.

The Pacific Railroads.

Second. The interest of the United States in the public highways

built with public moneys and the proceeds of extensive grants of land to the Pacific Railroads should never be alienated, mortgaged or sold, but guarded and protected for the general welfare as provided by the laws organizing such railroads. The foreclosure of existing liens of the United States on these roads should at once follow default in the payment thereof by the debtor companies; and at the foreclosure sales of said roads the Government shall purchase the same if it becomes necessary to protect its interests therein, or if they can be purchased at a reasonable price; and the Government shall operate said railroads as public highways for the benefit of the whole people and not in the interest of the few under suitable provisions for protection of life and property, giving to all transportation interests equal privileges and equal rates for fares and freights.

Third. We denounce the present infamous schemes for refunding these debts, and demand that the laws now applicable thereto be executed and administered according to their interest and spirit.

The telegraphic, like the Post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the Government in the interest of the people.

Land.

First. True policy demands that the National and State legislation shall be such as will ultimately enable every prudent and industrious citizen to secure a home, and, therefore, the land should not be monopolized for speculative purposes. All lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, should by lawful means be reclaimed by the Government and held for natural settlers only, and private land monopoly as well as alien ownership should be prohibited.

Second. We condemn the frauds by which the land grant Pacific Railroad Companies have, through the connivance of the Interior Department, robbed multitudes of actual *bona fide* settlers of their homes and miners of their claims, and we demand legislation by Congress which will enforce the exception of mineral land from such grants after as well as before the patent.

Third. We demand that *bona fide* settlers on all public lands be granted free homes, as provided in the National Homestead law, and that no exception be made in the case of Indian reservations when opened for settlement, and that all lands not now patented come under this demand.

Direct Legislation.

We favor a system of direct legislation, through the initiative and referendum, under proper constitutional safeguards.

General Propositions.

First. We demand the election of President, Vice-President, and United States Senators by a direct vote of the people.

Second. We tender to the patriotic people of the country our deepest sympathies in their heroic struggle for political freedom and independence, and we believe the time has come when the United States, the great Republic of the world, should recognize that Cuba is and of right ought to be a free and independent State.

Third. We favor home rule in the Territories and the District of Columbia, and the early admission of the Territories as States.

Fourth. All public salaries should be made to correspond to the price of labor and its products.

Fifth. In times of great industrial depression idle labor should be employed on public works as far as practicable.

Sixth. The arbitrary course of the courts in assuming to imprison citizens for indirect contempt, and ruling them by injunction, should be prevented by proper legislation.

Seventh. We favor just pensions for our disabled Union soldiers.

Eighth. Believing that the elective franchise and an untrammelled ballot are essential to government of, for and by the people, the People's party condemn the wholesale system of disfranchisement adopted in some of the States as unrepublican and undemocratic, and we declare it to be the duty of the several State Legislatures to take such action as will secure a full, free and fair ballot and honest count.

Ninth. While the foregoing propositions constitute the platform upon which our party stands, and for the vindication of which its organization will be maintained, we recognize that the great and pressing issue of the pending campaign, upon which the present election will turn, is the financial question, and upon this great and specific issue between the parties we cordially invite the aid and co-operation of all organizations and citizens agreeing with us upon this vital question.

Thomas Edward Watson,

The Populist Candidate for Vice-President.

Thomas Edward Watson, the Populist candidate for Vice-President, was born in Columbia county, Ga., on September 5, 1856. After receiving a preparation in the common schools, he entered the Mercer University, at Macon, Ga., as a Freshman in 1872, but lack of means compelled him to leave college at the end of his Sophomore year. He then began to teach school, at which calling he continued for two years. Meanwhile he read law for a few weeks under Judge W. R. McLaws of Augusta, Ga., and was admitted to the bar in 1875. He began the practice of his profession at Thomson, Ga., his old home, in November, 1876. He has been practising his profession successfully since then, and has made enough money to buy considerable land, and to conduct farming operations on a large scale.

Entered the Political Arena.

In 1880, when he was only twenty-four years of age, Watson entered the political arena as a delegate to the Democratic State Convention, and leaped to the front with a suddenness equal to that of the "Boy Orator of the Platte," by one of the fieriest speeches delivered before that body. In 1882 he was elected to the lower house of the State Legislature, and in

1888 was a Democratic Presidential Elector-at-large. In 1890 he was elected to Congress from the Augusta district as a Democrat, receiving 5,456 votes against 597 for Anthony E. Williams, a Republican. In this, his first Congressional campaign, he made a dashing display, exhibiting much power and ability as a speaker, and championing the principles of the Farmers' Alliance with remarkable force and fervor.

In the one session of the National House of Representatives in which he served before the Congressional election of 1892 he achieved great notoriety. His object in the House was to bring as much discredit upon both of the old parties as possible, and he was cunning enough to seek the applause of one side while he abused the other, trusting to thoughtless partisanship for aid in discrediting each in turn.

A Campaign of Exceeding Bitterness.

In 1892, the Democratic nomination in his Congressional district went to James C. Black, against whom Watson became the candidate of the People's party, and conducted a campaign of exceeding bitterness. He began by issuing as a campaign document a book which was a severe attack on the House. Among other things, he charged that it was a common thing among members for them to come upon the floor of the House in a state of intoxication.

A committee appointed to investigate the matter reported that the charges were unfounded.

In his campaign for re-election, Watson's tactics were to arouse the country districts against the

towns, to teach the farmers that they were down-trodden and oppressed, and to arouse their wrath against the merchants. He proclaimed himself the friend of the poor and the enemy of the rich, declared that he was for principle above party. He held with Mr. Black a series of joint debates, in the first of which he proclaimed to his followers that his enemies were determined to defeat him if they had to kill him, and, dramatically bounding upon a table, he bared his breast and dared his foes to fire upon him. Of course, no one had ever thought of such a thing, but, when he declared he had friends who would support him and defend him as long as he advocated the principles which would relieve the poor, his followers yelled and hurrahed like demons. He aroused them to such a pitch that the more ignorant verily believed that they had been robbed of what was rightfully theirs. The Watson farmers refused to buy from Democratic merchants in the country towns, and the condition of affairs throughout the district became serious. Bad blood was aroused among the people to such an extent that the railroads, in running special trains to the meetings, were obliged to set apart separate cars for the men of the two parties.

"Dat Man is de Nigger's Saviour."

One day Watson spoke to a thousand of his negro followers. The Democrats had a rally the same day. They had a barbecue attachment to their meeting. They invited all the negroes to feast upon barbecued pig and lamb, but Watson told them not to eat of

Democratic meat—it would be poison to them—and they went without food. They listened to a three-hours' harangue from him and then followed him to his hotel and depot. At the depot, as he took a train, an old negro cried to another near him:—

"Did you shake his han'?"

"No, but I teched de hem ob his garment, an' dat was 'nough," the other replied. "Dat man is de nigger's saviour. When he gits 'lected de nigger will hab all he wants widdout workin' fer it."

A Last Bold Stroke.

At the State election in October all hope of his being returned to Congress was dissipated. He was the issue in his Congressional district, and the vote cast for State officers was really a test vote in his Congressional race. When the news that the district had gone Democratic by 1,200 majority reached him, he cried like a child, and said that the thing he most regretted was the bitterness which had been aroused against him among his old friends. In his own home town, Thomson, all his life-long friends had voted against him, and, because of his teachings of race equality to the negroes, many of them declined to receive him at their homes or to associate with him in public. Although he realized that he must be defeated at the Congressional election, he determined to make a last bold stroke for the negro vote, and started out upon another active canvass of the district, speaking principally to the negroes. When the election came off he was overwhelmingly defeated,

receiving but 12,333 votes to 17,772 cast for Mr. Black.

In 1894 Watson was again pitted against Mr. Black, this time as an avowed Populist candidate, and was again overwhelmingly defeated, receiving 13,498 votes to 20,942 for his regular Democratic competitor. There were charges and counter-charges of fraud and Mr. Black declined to enter on the term, resigning the seat on March 4, 1895. This enabled the two competitors to make a fresh appeal to the people. It was taken at a special election held on October 2 last, and resulted in another defeat for Watson, who received on this occasion only 8,637 votes to 10,193 for Black.

His Personality.

Watson is a slender, angular, youthful-looking person, with a clean-shaven face and thick auburn hair. His personal aspect does not indicate the real ability possessed by the man, and his unparalleled ambition. In 1878 he was married to Miss Georgia Durham, and has two children.

The Speech That Made Bryan.

CROWN OF THORNS, CROSS OF GOLD—AN HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENT IN AMERICAN POLITICS AS WELL AS A LITERARY CURIOSITY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS—THE WONDERFUL PERORATION—(DELIVERED IN REPLY TO SENATOR HILL AS THE CLOSING SPEECH IN FAVOR OF THE PLATFORM AS AFTERWARDS ADOPTED, CHICAGO, JUNE 25TH, 1896).

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentleman to whom you have listened if this were but a measuring of ability, but this is not a contest among persons. The humblest citizen in all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause is stronger than all the whole hosts of error that they can bring. I come to speak to you in defence of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity. (Loud applause.) * * * * * * * *

"Never before in the history of this country has there been witnessed such a contest as that through which we have passed. Never before in the history of American politics has a great issue been fought out, as this issue has been, by the voters themselves. On the 4th of March, 1895, a few Democrats, most of them members of Congress, issued an address to the Democrats of the nation, asserting that the money question was the paramount issue of the hour; asserting also the right of a majority of the Democratic party to control the position of the party

on this paramount issue; concluding with the request that all believers in free coinage of silver in the Democratic party should organize and take charge of and control the policy of the Democratic party. Three months later, at Memphis, an organization was perfected, and the silver Democrats went forth openly and boldly and courageously proclaiming their belief, and declaring that if successful they would crystalize in a platform the declaration which they had made; and then began the conflict with a zeal approaching the zeal which inspired the crusaders who followed Peter the Hermit. Our silver Democrats went forth from victory unto victory until they are assembled now, not to discuss, not to debate, but to enter up the judgment rendered by the plain people of this country. (Applause.)

"In this contest brother has been arrayed against brother and father against father. The warmest ties of love and acquaintance and association have been disregarded. Old leaders have been cast aside when they refused to give expression to the sentiments of those whom they would lead, and new leaders have sprung up to give direction to this cause of truth. (Cheers.) Thus has the contest been waged, and we have assembled here under as binding and solemn instructions as were ever fastened upon the representatives of a people.

Speak for the People.

"We do not come as individuals. Why, as individuals we might have been glad to compliment the gentleman from New York (Senator Hill), but we knew that the people for whom we speak would never be willing to put him in a position where he could thwart the will of the Democratic party. (Cheers.) I say it was not a question of persons;

it was a question of principle, and it is not with gladness, my friends, that we find ourselves brought into conflict with those who are now arrayed on the other side. The gentleman who just preceded (Governor Russell) spoke of the old State of Massachusetts. Let me assure him that not one person in all this Convention entertains the least hostility to the people of the State of Massachusetts. (Applause.)

"But we stand here representing people who are the equals before the law of the largest citizens in the State of Massachusetts. (Applause.) When you come before us and tell us that we shall disturb your business interests, we reply that you have disturbed our business interests by your course. (Great applause and cheering.) We say to you that you have made too limited in its application the definition of a business man. The man who is employed for wages is as much a business man as is his employer. (Continued cheering.) The attorney in a country town is as much a business man as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis. The merchant at the cross-roads store is as much a business man as the merchant of New York. The farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day, begins in the spring and toils all summer, and by the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of this country creates wealth, is as much a business man as the man who goes upon the board of trade and bets upon the price of grain.

"The miners who go a thousand feet into the earth or climb 2,000 feet upon the cliffs and bring forth from their hiding-places the precious metals to be poured into the channels of trade are as much business men as the few financial magnates who, in a back-room, corner the money of the world.

"We come to speak for this broader class of busi-

ness men. Ah, my friends, we say not one word against those who live upon the Atlantic coast; but those hardy pioneers who braved all the dangers of the wilderness, who have made the desert to blossom as the rose—those pioneers away out there, rearing their children near to nature's heart, where they can mingle their voices with the voices of the birds—out there where they have erected school-houses for the education of their young, and churches where they praise their Creator, and cemeteries where sleep the ashes of their dead—are as deserving of the consideration of this party as any people in this country. (Great applause.)

No More Pleading.

"It is for these that we speak. We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest. We are fighting in the defence of our homes, our families and posterity. (Loud applause.) We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded. We have begged, and they have mocked, and our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them! (Great applause and confusion in the silver delegations.) * * * * *

Income Tax.

"They say we passed an unconstitutional law. I deny it. The income tax was not unconstitutional when it was passed. It was not unconstitutional when it went before the supreme court for the first time. It did not become unconstitutional until one judge changed his mind, and we cannot be expected to know when a judge will change his mind. (Applause, and voice, 'Hit 'em again.') The income

tax is a just law. It simply intends to put the burdens of government justly upon the backs of the people. I am in favor of an income tax. (Applause.) When I find a man who is not willing to pay his share of the burden of the government which protects him, I find a man who is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a government like ours. (Applause.)

"He says that we are opposing the national bank currency. It is true. If you will read what Thomas Benton said you will find that he said that in searching history he could find but one parallel to Andrew Jackson. That was Cicero, who destroyed the conspiracies of Catiline and saved Rome. He did for Rome what Jackson did when he destroyed the bank conspiracy and saved America. (Applause.)

"We say in our platform that we believe that the right to coin money and issue money is a function of government. We believe it. We believe it is a part of sovereignty, and can no more with safety be delegated to private individuals than we could afford to delegate to private individuals the power to make penal statutes or levy laws for taxation. (Applause.)

"Let me call attention to two or three great things. The gentleman from New York says that he will propose an amendment providing that this change in our law shall not affect contracts already made. Let me remind you that there is no intention of affecting those contracts, which, according to the present laws, are made payable in gold. But if he means to say that we cannot change our monetary system without protecting those who have loaned money before the change was made, I want to ask him where, in law or in morals, he can find authority for not protecting the debtors when the act of 1873 was passed, but now insists that we must protect the creditor. He

says that he also wants to amend this law and provide that if we fail to maintain a parity within a year that we will then suspend the coinage of silver. We reply that when we advocate a thing which we believe to be successful we are not compelled to raise a doubt as to our own sincerity by trying to show what we will do if we can. I ask him, if he will apply his logic to us, why he does not apply it to himself. He says that he wants this country to try to secure an international agreement. Why doesn't he tell us what he is going to do if they fail to secure an international agreement. There is more reason for him to do that, than for us to fail to maintain the parity. They have tried for thirty years—for thirty years—to secure an international agreement, and those are waiting for it most patiently who don't want it at all. (Cheering, laughter long continued.)

"Now, my friends, let me come to the great paramount issue. If they ask us here why it is that we say more on the money question than we say upon the tariff question, I reply that if protection has slain its thousands, the gold standard has slain its tens of thousands. If they ask us why we did not embody all these things in our platform which we believe, we reply to them that when we have restored the money of the Constitution all other necessary reforms will be possible, and that until that is done there is no reform that can be accomplished. (Cheers.)

"Why is it that within three months such a change has come over the sentiments of this country? Three months ago, when it was confidently asserted that those who believed in the gold standard would frame our platform and nominate our candidates, even the advocates of the gold standard did not think that we could elect a President; but they had good reason for the suspicion, because there is scarcely a State here to-day asking for the gold standard that is not

within the absolute control of the Republican party. (Loud cheering.) But note the change. Mr. McKinley was nominated at St. Louis upon a platform that declared for the maintenance of the gold standard until it should be changed into bimetallism by an international agreement. Mr. McKinley was the most popular man among the Republicans, and everybody three months ago in the Republican party prophesied his election. How is it to-day? Why, that man who used to boast that he looked like Napoleon —(Laughter and cheers)—that man shudders to-day when he thinks that he was nominated on the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo.

"Not only that, but as he listens he can hear with ever-increasing distinctness the sound of the waves as they beat upon the lonely shores of St. Helena. (Cheers.) Why this change? Ah, my friends, is not the change evident to any one who will look at the matter? It is no private character, however pure, no personal popularity, however great, that can protect from the avenging wrath of an indignant people the man who will either declare that he is in favor of fastening the gold standard upon this people, or who is willing to surrender the right of self-government and place legislative control in the hands of foreign potentates and powers. (Cheers.)

"I want to suggest this truth, that if the gold standard is a good thing, we ought to declare in favor of its retention and not in favor of abandoning it; and if the gold standard is a bad thing, why should we wait until some other nations are willing to help us to let go? (Applause.) Here is the line of battle. We care not upon which issue they force the fight. We are prepared to meet them on either issue or on both. If they tell us that the gold standard is the standard of civilization, we reply to them that this, the most enlightened of all the nations of the

earth, has never declared for a gold standard, and both the parties this year are declaring against it. (Applause.) If the gold standard is the standard of civilization, why, my friends, should we not have it? So if they come to meet us on that, we can present the history of our nation. More than that. We can tell them this, that they will search the pages of history in vain to find a single instance in which the common people of any land have ever declared themselves in favor of a gold standard. (Applause.)

* * * * * * *

"There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that if you just legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous that their prosperity will leak through on those below. The democratic idea has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous, their prosperity will find its way up and through every class and rest upon it. (Applause.) You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard. I tell you that the great cities rest upon these broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms and your cities will spring up again as if by magic. But destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in this country. (Applause.)

The Climax.

"If they dare to come out and in the open defend the gold standard as a good thing, we shall fight them to the uttermost, having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world. Having behind us the commercial interests and the laboring interests and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them, You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."